GREAT MASTERS
IN PAINTING & SCULPTURE

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The Great Masters
in Painting and Sculpture
Edited by G. C. Williamson

CARLO CRIVELLI

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CARLO CRIVELLI

BY

G. M'NEIL RUSHFORTH, M.A.
CLASSICAL LECTURER, ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD

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PREFACE

CRIVELLI can hardly be said to provide a very attractive subject for the biographer, owing to the paucity of material. Up to the present time the account in Messrs Crowe and Cavalcaselle's "History" has remained the most complete treatment of the painter, and in its main features their careful compilation leaves little to be desired. The present volume is an attempt to put together all that is known about Crivelli and his works. One great deficiency may be acknowledged at once. No additions have been made to the scanty documentary evidence about the painter which has up till now been available. It is possible that a diligent search among the archives at Ascoli, and the other towns with which Crivelli was connected, might reveal some further information. For such researches I have had neither time nor opportunity. All that I have been able to ascertain is that of this nature there exists nothing obvious or known to the local authorities.

In default of more original information we are under considerable obligations to Amico Ricci, who, at a time when Crivelli's pictures were being scattered from their original home in the Marches, either from his own knowledge or from information which he had collected, preserved in many cases the memory of their original positions and other important facts about them.

The interest taken in Crivelli in our own country should be stimulated by the unrivalled collection of

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his works in the National Gallery. Its principal fault is that it represents too exclusively the middle and later stages of his development. Another defect might be more easily remedied. For purposes of comparison Crivelli's pictures ought to be supplemented by examples of his pupils' works. If the two panels of Vittorio at South Kensington could be transferred to the National Gallery from the dark corner which they at present occupy, their significance would at once become apparent, and every student would profit by the opportunity thus given for comparison.

I must express my thanks for much valuable information about Crivelli especially to Dr Frizzoni and to Mr Berenson. But, above all, I am indebted to Mr Charles Loeser, who throughout has given me the benefit of his accurate judgment and wide knowledge of Italian art. To his encouragement and counsel I owe much. I have also to thank the owners or custodians of pictures who have allowed them to be reproduced in this volume, or have placed any information at my disposal.

I would add that the publishers of this volume, in order to make it as complete as possible, arranged with Mr Houghton of Florence, at considerable expense, to go to the Marches and photograph many pictures which have never before been reproduced.

G. McN. RUSHFORTH.

OXFORD, *December* 1899.

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The Exhibition of Venetian Art at the New Gallery in 1894-95 is referred to as "Venetian Exhibition."

CARLO CRIVELLI

CHAPTER I

CRIVELLI'S MASTERS

CARLO CRIVELLI is one of those painters about whose life hardly any information, traditional or otherwise, has come down to us. But about his artistic origin, with the exception of one questionable statement, there is an absolute blank; and we are reduced to the necessity of making his pictures tell their own story about the masters under whom he studied, and the school to which he belonged. These are conditions which expose the inquirer to many dangers and temptations; and the greatest care must be taken not to go beyond the facts contained in the pictures, or to allow the imagination to usurp the place of legitimate inference. Fortunately in the case of Crivelli some at least of the inferences, and perhaps those of most importance, are so clear, that we may feel some confidence when we make them that we have got near to the truth.

Crivelli, as we shall see, whenever he signed a picture, never forgot to remind the world that he was a Venetian. Here then is our starting-point. When we consider that he left Venice early in his career, never apparently to return, we cannot doubt that as an artist he meant by this insistence on his place of origin to emphasise the

fact that it was there that he had learnt his art. The conditions of place then are settled. What about the conditions of time?

A number of Crivelli's pictures have come down to us which, partly from the dates inscribed on them, partly from their characteristics, may be classed as early works. In the matter of time then, our starting-point is the fact that the earliest date inscribed on a picture by Crivelli is 1468, and that a picture which, though early in style, is by no means elementary. Crivelli may well have begun his artistic career as far back as 1460. Who were the masters in painting in Venice and its neighbourhood at that period, and were there any other local influences within the range of which Crivelli is likely to have come? When these questions have been answered we must go on to inquire how far the style of those masters and the traces of those influences can be discovered in Crivelli's early works.

The most superficial glance at Crivelli's pictures would tell us that he has nothing in common with what is known as Venetian art proper, the school of the Bellini and Giorgione, of Titian and Tintoret. But long before the Bellini, Venice had its painters with a character and tradition of their own. While it is probably true that all Italian art is ultimately indebted to Byzantine inspiration, this influence was more direct in the case of Venice than elsewhere. At a time when, on the western side of Italy, the older forms of painting were being endowed with new life and undergoing a new birth, Venice with her Eastern connections preserved the artistic traditions of Constantinople. But Venice could not remain for ever unaffected by the astonishing

progress which was being made by national Italian art, and early in the fifteenth century we find the old Venetian school in process of transformation under the influence of Umbrian and Veronese masters.* This new generation, reinforced perhaps by the infusion of a German element, had its leading representatives in the Vivarini of Murano. They, in their turn, were affected by the new centre of artistic teaching which had lately sprung up in Padua, associated with the name of Squarcione. Under the influence of each of these elements, the old Venetian school, the painters of Murano, and the school of Padua, Crivelli directly or indirectly came; and we will endeavour now to show how his early pictures provide the evidence for this statement.

The very form of many of Crivelli's works is suggestive of the atmosphere in which he was trained at Venice. Though by no means confined to Venice, the old Venetian school, with its Byzantine traditions, had a special liking for the "Ancona"—the altar-piece consisting of many single figures, each in its separate compartment; with the gilded framework forming a more or less elaborate architectural setting for the whole. Such an obstacle to composition of a wider scope was speedily got rid of by the more progressive schools, but at Venice it remained longer; and for Crivelli, whose special achievement it was to perpetuate in a more modern form all that was best in the Byzantine tradition, it was peculiarly appropriate. We shall observe that even he, as he advanced,

* It was in 1420 that Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello were invited to decorate the Doge's Palace.

abandoned the system of composite altar-pieces for pictures in which the figures are grouped in a single composition. Still, much of his best work is enshrined in anconas. Many of the tall narrow panels by his hand which have come down to us no doubt originally formed part of such structures; and even where this is not the case, the form of the panel recalls its origin, and reminds us that Crivelli felt most at home when dealing with the isolated and statuesque figures which form the attendants on the central scene in the typical ancona.

The earliest statement about the artistic origin of Crivelli is that of the seventeenth-century writer Ridolfi, who says that he was the pupil of Jacobello del Fiore.* But we know now that Jacobello was dead by 1440,† so that Crivelli cannot have been his pupil. Ridolfi's statement therefore must be taken as a general expression of Crivelli's obligations to the old Venetian school of which Jacobello was a typical representative. As the recognised head in his day of the profession in Venice, he was a prominent personage; but of the two works preserved there, the only one which has even a superficial resemblance to Crivelli's style—"Justice between Michael and Gabriel" (Accademia, No. 15)—really only recalls it in the use of raised gilt ornaments, a feature which is common to all early Venetian art. The suggestion of Crowe and Cavalcaselle ‡ that it is rather to Giambono that we should look among the older painters as

* Ridolfi, Maraviglie, i. 49.

† Racolta di documenti inediti per servire alla storia della pittura Veneziana. Prof. Paoletti Pietro di Osvaldo. Padua, 1895. Fasc. ii. p. 9.

‡ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, i. 82.

Crivelli's teacher, though the dates present no difficulty, does not lead to any more definite result.

Meanwhile, as we have said, new life was being infused into the old Venetian art, by the school of painters settled at the neighbouring town of Murano. The decided advance shown by Antonio Vivarini is apparently due to external influence; on the one hand, to that coming from the professional visit to Venice about 1420 of Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello, and, on the other, to his partnership with a painter of German origin, who seems to have brought with him the traditions of the school of Cologne. While preserving many of the superficial characteristics of the old Venetian school, such as the use of gilt ornaments and the general decorative character, the results of this advance may be summed up as an increase of grace and dignity in the figures, a distinct effort after character in the heads, and improved drawing. A characteristic example of the partnership is the altar-piece of 1443 ("St. Sabina and other Saints"), in S. Zaccaria, Venice, where the central panel is thoroughly German, while the side figures remind one of Pisanello. Apparently by 1450, and therefore before Crivelli can have come under its influence, the partnership ceased; and we must look to such a picture as that of 1464 in the Lateran, signed by Antonio Vivarini alone, for an example of the master as he knew him. That he did know him, the very circumstances of the case make more than probable. The painters of Murano were at this time so unquestionably at the head of their profession in the Venetian world, that a young painter growing up there, as we believe Crivelli to have

done, between the years 1440 and 1460, must, almost inevitably, have been in some sense their pupil.

Now, can we find any traces of Crivelli's master in Antonio Vivarini's panels of 1464? The youthful figures in the lower tier, with their smooth, round faces, seem to be a survival of the German influence. On the other hand, the strongly marked characteristics of the half-lengths in the upper tier are a feature which may be ascribed to Antonio himself; and here we seem to find the suggestion for the still more strongly individualised types of Crivelli. It is not, however, so much to any precise features that we must look for analogies with Crivelli. It is rather in the general character of the figures, severe and earnest, in their traditional attitudes, and in the arrangement of the ancona as a whole,* that we must look for the forms with which Crivelli's education made him familiar and which reappear in his own works.

One figure in the Lateran altar-piece — the St. Christopher in the lower tier—is markedly different in style from the rest. In looking at it we are reminded of nothing so much as some of the forms in Mantegna's earliest altar-piece, dated 1454, and now in the Brera. In other words, it is decidedly Paduan in character. We shall hardly be wrong in attributing this new element, directly or indirectly, to Antonio's younger brother, Bartolommeo Vivarini, whose pictures reveal very considerable obligations to the school of Padua. What was this school which could thus strongly impress

* The carved figure of St. Anthony is exceptional, and one may be suspicious whether it is original here. A panel with the Virgin and Child forms the usual centre.

Anderson photo] [*Lateran Gallery*

ALTAR-PIECE (1464)
(*By Antonio Vivarini*)

the leading Venetian painters, and did its influence extend to Crivelli?

About the same period when the Muranese painters were infusing new life into Venetian art the neighbouring town of Padua was the centre of a parallel but quite distinct movement, that traditionally associated with the name of Squarcione. Everyone who has even a superficial acquaintance with the history of Italian art has read of his journey to Greece, of the drawings (presumably of antiquities) that he brought back with him, and of the successful and popular art school that he established at Padua. What truth there may be in the first of these statements it is difficult to say. The distinctive features, it is true, of the works of the artists who came from his school (Mantegna is the best known instance) are the clear-cut, plastic character of the figures, as though they were copied from statues, and the introduction of architectural adjuncts and ornaments derived from ancient remains. The models for the latter, however, are Roman rather than Greek, and an abundance of them was ready to hand in Squarcione's day in North Italy. The collection of statues which we are told he possessed, a term no doubt including bas-reliefs and architectural fragments, was probably derived from this source. This interest of Squarcione's in ancient sculpture coincided with, even if it was not partly due to, another source of influence. In 1444 Donatello came to Padua, and his bronze reliefs for the high altar of S. Antonio at once attracted great attention and powerfully impressed the local artists, not only by suggesting plastic treatment in painting generally, but by providing definite models for certain artistic

forms. A very common ornamental feature in Paduan pictures is the festoon of fruit or flowers. Familiar as this was from hundreds of Roman altars and sarcophagi, there can be little doubt that it was Donatello who popularised the festoon. An obvious example on an early work produced under his direction is the tomb of John XXIII. (dated 1426), in the Baptistery of Florence.

Whatever may be the truth as to the exact relation of these various influences, it is now generally agreed that Squarcione was the manager of an *atelier* where models and facilities for instruction were provided, rather than a great artist surrounded by a circle of disciples. This view is based mainly on the fact that hardly any pictures by him exist, and on the very inferior character of those that do. Yet there must have been some strong personal influence at work to impress on the school such an extraordinary individuality; for, in spite of the great difference in merit between such artists as Mantegna and Zoppo, nothing is more remarkable than the uniformity of characteristics which make a Paduan picture recognisable almost at the first glance. Combined with the features derived from the school of Venice, these characteristics are so marked in Crivelli that we require no traditional or documentary evidence to prove that at some time he was a member of the school of Squarcione. We need not illustrate this at length, for nearly every picture of his bears witness to it, in the plastic forms, the festoons of fruit, the marble thrones and other architectural accessories. It might be suggested that he learnt the lesson through the medium of the Vivarini, for they,

as we have seen, especially after Bartolommeo became associated with his brother (and that in 1450, before Crivelli's time), show considerable traces of Squarcione's influence. But the traces are so much stronger in Crivelli that it is only reasonable to suppose that he came into personal contact with the Paduan school. One piece of evidence will suffice. It is safe to say that among the pictures in the National Gallery there is only one painter whose productions could possibly be mistaken for Crivelli's, and that is Gregorio Schiavone. And on one of his pictures there (No. 630) Schiavone has added to his signature the significant words "disipuli Squarcioni," "pupil of Squarcione." Crivelli, on the other hand, is equally justified in describing himself as "Venetian," for he never forgot the impulse which he had derived both from the old Venetion school and from the painters of Murano; and, with much in common, he develops on quite different lines from the greatest product of the Paduan school, Mantegna. Nevertheless, the Paduan was the most important outside influence under which he came; and while his vocation was to perpetuate under improved and modernised forms the old Venetian tradition, nothing contributed more to the enrichment and ennobling of that foundation than the lessons which he learnt in the school of Squarcione.

CHAPTER II

HIS LIFE

WITH the exception of one or two facts, we start on our inquiry into Crivelli's life with no better sources of information than were at our disposal in our investigation of his artistic origins. Until some documentary evidence is unearthed, we have to rely ultimately on the pictures and what they tell us, for reconstructing Crivelli's personal history as well as his artistic career. Under these circumstances the facts which we can collect are, naturally, very few and very general. Let us see what they are.

First, as to the date of Crivelli's birth. In the absence of any definite statement we must make an inference from the dates which he sometimes appended to his signature. The earliest is on the altar-piece at Massa, and the year is 1468; the latest is 1493, on the "Coronation," in the Brera, an interval of twenty-five years. But the picture at Massa cannot be Crivelli's earliest work. As we shall see when we come to examine it, while containing indications of immaturity, on the other hand it already possesses in a definite form the characteristics which we may describe as Crivellian. In other words, it postulates a course of development. The probabilities are that Crivelli's strongly pronounced individuality would assert itself early, and quickly

emancipate itself from the fetters of mere imitation. Still, there must have been a period, however short, of discipleship; and if any of Crivelli's earliest productions had survived we should no doubt see in them less of himself and more of his masters than is the case with the picture at Massa. If we were able to accept it as authentic, the Berlin "Pietà," with its un-Crivellian character, would be an illustration of what we mean. As we cannot, we must be content with the "Madonna" at Verona, which, though its authorship could never be a matter of doubt, presents more points of contact with Schiavone (*i.e.* with Squarcione) than any other of his existing pictures.

We may then suppose that Crivelli began his career as a painter not later than 1460, and that he was then about the age of twenty.* As the latest dated picture is of 1493, we might infer that he was cut short by death in the zenith of his career at the age of about fifty. This is exactly the impression which the dated pictures of 1491-93 convey. Though not in every respect his finest works, they show him at the height of his powers; and while they contain all the indications of maturity, there are none of decay.

Crivelli, in signing a picture, never omitted to describe himself as "Venetus," and this must be our warrant for believing that Venice or its district was his place of origin and his earliest home.† This is confirmed by the fact that the picture which everyone agrees in putting first

* Mantegna was twenty-one when he painted his earliest known picture.

† The only place where we can localise the name is at Milan. The ancient family there produced a Pope, Urban III. (1185-87). On Protasio Crivelli see below, p. 79.

in the chronological list of his works—the "Madonna" at Verona—is the only existing one the *provenance* of which can be traced to Venice. It may also be noticed that his persistency in calling himself a Venetian is quite in keeping with the most important fact in his life, his early departure from Venice (never, so far as we know, to return) and subsequent residence in the Marches. In that district, without either a great city or an artistic tradition which might compete with the fame of the Queen of the Adriatic, we can imagine that the title "Venetus" brought with it a prestige and even a commercial value that was not to be despised. The pupil of the Vivarini might feel that such credentials would give him a better chance of success until his own merits could speak for themselves. And after success had been achieved, he might naturally still insist with some pride, on the fact that he belonged by origin to the great northern city.

We are next brought face to face with the question, Why did Crivelli settle in the Marches? Apparently there was little to attract thither a young and rising painter. There were no princely patrons of the first rank, no town of first-class importance like Venice or Milan or Florence. Above all, the district had been little if at all affected by the great movements in art which had stirred the North and West of Italy. Why, then, should a painter of such conspicuous ability and independence as Crivelli at once displayed desert the atmosphere of the capital for (so to speak) that of the provinces? Why should he leave the high road to fame for one of the byways of Italian life?

In the entire absence of evidence, traditional or

documentary, various conjectures might be put forward by way of explanation. The simplest—to mention only one—would be that the original home of Crivelli or of his family was in the Marches, that he was sent to Venice and Padua, the nearest and most important art schools, to get his training, and then returned to the district where he was known and where he might look for employment by the churches and monasteries. His description of himself as "Venetus" would not necessarily conflict with such a theory, for it would then only emphasise his connections with the Venetian masters which, as we have seen, is, after all, the real significance of the title. But it is useless to dwell on conjectures which can only be recommended by probability, and are unsupported by the evidence of facts. The only fact within our knowledge which could be brought forward as suggesting a possible explanation is the existence at Pausula of an altar-piece by Antonio Vivarini dated 1462.* Pausula, as we shall see, was in the centre of the district which contains Crivelli's earliest work in the Marches. He may then have come there as the assistant of the Vivarini, and been induced to stay by the prospects of employment in a region where there was little to fear from the competition of rival artists.

Whatever may have been the reason, the removal of Crivelli to the Marches was of momentous importance

* S. Pietro. Winter Choir. Only six panels remain. The ancona, which belonged to the high altar, was no doubt dismembered when the tenth-century church was destroyed to make way for the present structure. The date 1462 is given on the authority of the MS. notes on the church by the Preposto Bartolazzi. Some of the figures suggest that Bartolommeo had a share in the work.

as the determining fact of his career. Fixed as it were in a backwater of the stream of artistic progress, he was able to pursue his own ideals and methods untouched

MAP OF CRIVELLI'S COUNTRY

by the distracting influences which would have affected him in other parts of Italy. One of the most obvious characteristics of Crivelli's art is its permanence and

uniformity. Almost at once he achieved his style, and though we shall be able to trace a certain amount of development in it, the change is relatively very small. In the main, no doubt, this is due to his strong individuality. But something must also be attributed to his freedom from external influences. What he might have become in different surroundings it is useless to speculate. He might have been greater, but he might also have been less. He would hardly have been the Crivelli whom we know. Let us rather believe that he found his vocation in that sphere in which he was so eminently successful; and that the task to which he devoted himself, the preservation and elevation of all that was best in the old Venetian tradition, was the one for which he was best qualified.

Having brought Crivelli into the Marches, a new source of evidence gives us some information as to his movements there, and that is the *provenance* of the pictures, where it is known, taken in connection with their dates and style. It would not, of course, be safe to assert that a picture was always painted at the place for which it was ordered. Indeed, in one case, that of the altar-piece formerly in the Franciscan church at Macerata, the signature which has been preserved tells us that the work was done at Fermo (see p. 104). But when, partly from dated signatures, partly from considerations of style, we begin to draw up a chronological list of Crivelli's works, and then find that the pictures of a particular period, which are either in their original positions or of which the original positions are known, belong to a circle of towns in a limited district, the inference is irresistible that the artist resided in that

district at that particular time. The Chronological Table at the end of the volume will illustrate this. Starting with the earliest dated picture, the altar-piece of 1468, we note that it still remains at the place for which it was painted, Massa Fermana, some twenty miles from Fermo. In 1470 there is the "Madonna" at Macerata, which, as the signature states, was painted at Fermo. Near to it in date comes the "Madonna" which has always been at Ancona, almost within sight of Macerata. Rather later is the picture still in S. Agostino at Pausula, between Macerata and Fermo. Finally, there are the scattered panels (the most important being those at Brussels) of the altar-piece which we know was painted for the Franciscan Convent at Monte Fiore, near Fermo. These are the only pictures of this period of which the original positions are known; and, if their evidence is worth anything, it shows that in the years between 1468 and 1473, when a series of pictures belonging to another district begins to make its appearance, Crivelli was at work in the region between Ancona and Fermo. Coming from the North it was quite natural that the northern district of the Marches should first detain him. And, taking a suggestion from the signature at Macerata, we may suppose that his headquarters were at Fermo.

In order to make such an argument conclusive it would be necessary to know the original position of every important work belonging to the period. While future research may discover the facts about a few more pictures, for the present the clue in many cases has been lost, and so far our reasoning must remain imperfect. It would, for instance, be of crucial importance to know

[*Macerata*

VIRGIN AND CHILD

the original home of Sir F. Cook's Madonna, more nearly related than any other to the pictures at Massa. If it were found to have belonged to the district between Ancona and Fermo our theory would be strikingly confirmed. It is obvious that, as it became more certain, this local theory might be applied in some cases to help us to fix the place of a picture in the chronological list, no unimportant consideration with a painter who is in some respects so equal and uniform as Crivelli. The panels of the Monte Fiore altar-piece (*i.e.* Brussels, Nos. 16-17, and National Gallery, No. 602) would, on internal grounds, naturally be classed with the early pictures; but—assuming that our argument will stand—it is important to be able to infer from their locality that they were actually painted before 1473, the year when Crivelli moved to Ascoli.

For this residence at Ascoli, which began apparently about 1473 and lasted till 1487, the pictures themselves must again be our principal evidence. To begin with, there is the important ancona of 1473 which has never left the cathedral of Ascoli. For 1476 there is the great altar-piece, now in the National Gallery (No. 788), which came from S. Domenico; and to the next year belongs the "St. Bernardino" in the Louvre, which was originally in the church of the Annunziata. For the same church was painted, in 1486, the Annunciation, now in the National Gallery (No. 739). It will be noticed that between the last two pictures there is a considerable gap, which at present we are unable to fill up. The four pictures named above are the only ones which, with our existing information, can be traced to Ascoli; unless, indeed, the "Crucifixion" of the Brera (No. 189)

be the picture mentioned by Ricci as preserved in his day in the canons' residence adjoining the cathedral.* We are, of course, not obliged to believe that Crivelli never left Ascoli during this interval. Indeed, there is one fact which suggests that he did make an excursion northwards. The only other dated picture of this middle period of which the *provenance* is quite certain, is the triptych in the Brera (No. 283). It was painted in 1482—*i.e.* within the interval referred to above, and we know that it came from the Dominican church at Camerino. With this community Crivelli appears to have had some intimate connection, for he painted at least three pictures for them, two of which are in the Brera—viz. the triptych of 1482, and a "Madonna" (No. 193), both of them masterpieces. The third may be the "Crucifixion," in the same collection.† Such important works almost imply a temporary residence at Camerino. Once again we must remark that nothing but the discovery of new facts about the origin of other important pictures belonging to this period (the three great "Pietàs" are good examples) would give us any certainty about the painter's movements.

Some confirmation of Crivelli's absence from Ascoli before he painted the "Annunciation" of 1486, may be thought to be found in the following circumstances. That picture brings us into contact with one of the rare historical facts belonging to Crivelli's life.

Ascoli, situated on the northern frontier of the

* Ricci, i. 213. See also Index of Works.

† This is the statement of the official catalogue (p. 67). According to Ricci (i. 210), from the Duomo Vecchio of Camerino; but it is not quite clear that he is referring to the same picture.

[*Cathedral at Ascoli*

ALTAR-PIECE (1473)

Neapolitan kingdom, was nominally included in the Papal States. But at this time the temporal sovereignty of the Popes, especially on the eastern side of Italy, was far from having attained the stage of consolidation which it reached later. Ascoli was to all intents and purposes an independent city, keeping up a constant hostility with Fermo on the one side, and presenting a constant object for acquisition to Naples on the other. About the year 1482, under the influence of Prospero Caffarelli, the most important of its line of bishops, the city came to terms with Sixtus IV. In return for an annual tribute and the acknowledgment of his suzerainty, the Pope issued a Bull in favour of the citizens, conferring on them municipal autonomy, together with the power of life and death. Everyone was satisfied, and a new phrase—"Libertas Ecclesiastica," "Independence under the Church"—was invented to describe the new state of things. The arrival of the Charter was celebrated with special rejoicings on March 25th, and henceforth the Feast of the Annunciation was kept as the town festival, in which a procession to the church of the Annunziata was a prominent feature. The municipality determined to commemorate the event by a new altar-piece representing the "Annunciation" for the chapel of the Palazzo Comunale in the Piazza del Popolo. The work was entrusted to Crivelli's pupil Petrus Alamanus, and it still hangs in one of the state rooms of the later Palazzo in the Piazza Arringo, where we may read its signature, "Petri Alamani Opus," and the date "Anno Sal(utis) Christian(ae) MCCCCLXXXIIII . . . Libertatis an(n)o I."*

* The Virgin and the Angel kneel facing one another in front of an architectural background. Between them are the town arms, a view of

Darkened though it is by time, it is far from being an unfavourable example of that generally contemptible painter. Nevertheless, it is incredible that, if the master had been available, the work would not have been given to him rather than to the pupil. This consideration gains greater weight when we find that in 1486 Crivelli did execute, at the order of the town authorities, the beautiful "Annunciation" now in the National Gallery. It was destined for the church to which the annual procession was made, the Annunziata; and, like the altar-piece in the Town Hall, the words "Libertas Ecclesiastica" were inscribed below it. If we supposed that Crivelli only returned to Ascoli about 1485, we could understand why he executed the second commission and not the first. But, after all, we are here only dealing with conjecture, and it is perhaps more important to notice that his selection to paint this memorial picture is some evidence that at the time he was regarded as a regular member of the community. The order would no doubt be given, if possible, to a citizen, or at least a resident.*

In 1487 Crivelli left Ascoli for Fermo, it is said at the invitation of Count Lodovico Vinci. This statement rests on evidence which Ricci obtained from the archives of the Vinci Family at Fermo.† Remembering the

Ascoli, and the words "Libertas Ecclesiastica." The full date inscribed at the bottom of the picture, "Libertatis anno i. mense xii. die xxiii. mensis Februarii," shows that the first year of "Liberty" began on March 25, 1483.

* Petrus Alamanus was actually a citizen of Ascoli, for in one case he has described himself in his signature as "Civis Assulanus." The picture ("Virgin and Child") was formerly in the Barker collection.—C. and C. i. 98, note 4.

† Ricci, i. 314. C. and C. i. 96, note 1. Ricci says that he was

[*Ascoli*

ALTAR-PIECE (1489)
(*By Petrus Alamanus*)

reward which Crivelli received from Naples three years later, presumably for political support, we might conjecture that intrigues were already on foot to betray the town to the king, and that Crivelli had made Ascoli too hot to hold him. Whether this were the case, or whether he simply went away in disgust at the party in power, Fermo would be just the place where he might look for more congenial surroundings, for Fermo and Ascoli generally took opposite sides on every question. However, the ostensible reason for his departure appears to have been the invitation of Count Vinci. The results of this visit, on which he was accompanied by his relation and pupil Vittorio Crivelli, were a number of pictures, which in the time of Ricci could still be traced to Fermo. The only one which it is now possible to identify with certainty is the great picture at Berlin (No. 1156A) of the "Infant Christ giving the Keys to Peter surrounded by six Saints," four of whom are Franciscans. It belonged, as we have shown elsewhere (p. 99), to the Minorite church at Fermo. Apart from other considerations, on mere grounds of style no more appropriate date could be assigned to it than this. Its character is mature, not to say late. On the other hand, as we shall see presently, the form of signature (*i.e.* the omission of "miles") shows that it was painted before 1490. The years 1487-90 then provide, approximately, the correct date.

In 1490 the anti-Papalists got the upper hand in Ascoli, and called in the Neapolitans. Crivelli evidently

accompanied by his brother Ridolfo. Of this person we know nothing; but the two anconas by Vittorio (one dated 1491), which were formerly in the possession of the Vinci family, were no doubt connected with Carlo's visit.

did not regard the revolution unfavourably, and he may even have given it his active support, for Ferdinand II. of Naples (at that time Prince Ferdinand of Capua) conferred on him the honour of knighthood.* Whatever its object, political services or artistic distinction, it intensely gratified the recipient, who henceforth never omitted the title "miles" (knight) from his signature. In one case only ("Virgin and Child," Brera No. 193) another form appears: "eques laureatus." On grounds of style we might well put this picture last on the list of Crivelli's works, and, taking this fact together with the change in form of the title, we may reasonably suppose that the latter indicates a new and superior honour.† It is apparently connected with the laurel wreath, the traditional reward for all forms of artistic distinction.

It is curious that Crivelli painted no more pictures for Ascoli after 1490. Five works of this period have come down to us, and we know where four of these came from. They are towns in the region to the north-west of Ascoli, such as Fabriano and Camerino. It is useless to conjecture what this may imply with regard to Crivelli's movements. In any case, it appears that he did not live to face the counter-revolution at Ascoli in 1496, when the town became finally Papal. The

* An extract from the patent, dated April 9, 1490, is given by Andreantonelli, a seventeenth-century historian of Ascoli, who apparently had the original before him. The later authorities (Ricci, i. 228, C. and C. i. 93) copy from him. The authorities at Ascoli do not know of the existence of any such document at the present day.

† The suggestion is made by Layard (Kugler, i. 343). The reading "laureatus" is certain, but the older books gave it as "eques auratus," a confusion with a well-known but different title.

Hanfstaengl photo] [*National Gallery*

THE ANNUNCIATION (1486)

latest dated picture is of 1493, and we must suppose that he died about that year. We have already shown that, in all probability, he had scarcely passed the prime of life. After his reputation became established he must have been a prosperous and important personage in his own country, for he was able to charge substantial prices, a fact of which, in one case, the donor determined that posterity should not be ignorant (see p. 91).

Such is the meagre record which, at least for the present, must do duty as a life of Crivelli. We cannot but regret that the facts are not only scanty, but also of so superficial and external a character. Of the man we know nothing. Yet, as we look at his pictures and see that firm hand and those mingled types of strength and beauty, we feel that we may have missed a striking and interesting personality.

CHAPTER III

HIS CHARACTERISTICS

It is not the purpose of the following pages to dwell upon those superficial and general characteristics of Crivelli, which must be obvious to anyone who has made acquaintance with a number of typical pictures by him—let us say those in the National Gallery. His love of gold and splendid accessories, his unerring outlines and anatomical forms, the general impression conveyed by his figures of religious seriousness varied by gentle grace and, more rarely, by profound emotion —these are aspects of his art which must be apparent to all who have bestowed upon him more than a passing glance, and to which justice has already been done by previous writers. In these days, when the forms and methods of the oldest Italian painters have become tolerably familiar, there is little fear that even an archaic art like that of Crivelli will not be sufficiently appreciated. We are less likely now than formerly to hear his forms described as wooden, and his types as grotesque or affected. Leaving such considerations we shall be more usefully employed in regarding his art from the historical point of view, and in endeavouring to discover whether his pictures reveal the stages of development and progress through which he passed.

First we may say a few words about Crivelli's

subjects. The small half-length "Madonnas" were no doubt executed for private patrons. But his typical productions are the large anconas containing several panels (generally ten, with, sometimes, a predella) destined for churches. Their arrangement is tolerably uniform. "The Virgin and Child" in the centre are flanked by four full-length saints. Above is a corresponding series of half-length panels, the central one being usually the "Pietà," or some other representation of the dead Christ. The saints are chosen from a limited series. First we get those of greatest importance to the Christian Church, such as St. Peter and St. John Baptist. Next we have the patrons of the particular town or church. Finally, inasmuch as Crivelli's chief employers were the religious orders, there are the monastic saints, the Franciscans and Dominicans being largely predominant. The frequent presence of St. Jerome is due to the same cause, for he was regarded as one of the patrons of the monastic life.

The strongly individual character of Crivelli's style might lead a superficial observer to say that of all painters he changed the least. Crivelli's Madonnas and Saints we might be told can be recognised anywhere. His unerring outlines, and bony forms alternating with graceful refinement and strong emotion; above all, his love of colour and splendid accessories recur inevitably in his works at every period of his career. All this is perfectly true. Crivelli reached his settled style surprisingly early, and in the main he never departed from it. When once his character has been grasped he is the easiest of all painters to recognise at a glance;

and it is seldom, signature or no signature, that a question can arise whether a picture is by his hand or not, or, if it does arise, that the answer can be doubtful. And yet if we look more closely we shall discover that, together with this conservatism, there were certain lines of progress on which he moved, and which, generally speaking, distinguish the pictures of one period from those of another.

The most important and striking aspect of a painter is, as a rule, his system of arrangement and composition. Crivelli painted but few subject pieces: most of his work is in the form of ancona panels, where each saint appears in a separate architectural framework. The development and perfection of these isolated figures may be said to have been Crivelli's principal aim during his artistic career, and the form in which he achieved greatest success. It is only rarely that his attempts to express strong emotion move us, as in the case of the versions of the "Pietà," belonging to Mr Crawshay, and to the Vatican Picture Gallery. More commonly they are rather suggestive of the effort after that which was perhaps beyond his reach. But when dealing with single figures confined to separate panels he was not exposed to this temptation, and all his best qualities have full scope. Calm dignity, strength of character, gentleness and grace, can all be treated by him with perfect success apart from the disturbing elements of emotion and action. Masterpieces of this kind are the saints of the lower tier of the great ancona in the National Gallery (No. 788), and the "St. Emidius," at Ascoli. So successfully did he develop the single figure that, apparently, he began to produce such panels separately and apart

Hanfstaengl photo] [*National Gallery*

VIRGIN AND CHILD
(*From the Altar-piece*, 1476)

from a composite altar-piece. Much of Crivelli's work has come down to us in the form of these tall narrow panels containing either a Madonna or a Saint. Some of them no doubt originally formed parts of anconas which have been broken up, but others seem to have been always isolated. The "St. Bernardino" in the Louvre, and the "Magdalen" at Berlin, with the figures turned as it were towards a centre, might indicate that they belonged to a dismembered ancona. But the signature at the bottom of each (not to speak of the kneeling donors in the first) shows that this is improbable, for Crivelli always inserts it in the central panel where there are several. It is, of course, possible that there might be replicas of panels in a great ancona; but even so their elaborate finish and fine quality would show that Crivelli gave them all the importance of independent works.

The form of the ancona is at once elementary, archaic, and conventional. The isolation of the figures in separate panels is a complete obstacle to anything like unity of composition. As a matter of fact, the figures in any ancona of the early Venetian school have little relation to one another, and Crivelli evidently felt himself at perfect liberty to treat them as separate units, and not as parts of a whole. But as time went on this no longer satisfied him. Perhaps, too, some knowledge of what was being done by other painters may have influenced him. In any case, we find him in his later works abolishing the separate panels, and grouping his saints around the central subject within a single frame, so as to form a composition in the proper sense. The transition to the single picture is formed by

the triptych, where the side panels contain pairs of saints (as in the Brera picture), in close relation to the central figure. But all the larger pictures of his later years, of which the great Berlin altar-piece is a typical example, are free from any sub-divisions. Some have the Madonna attended by only two saints, but others, such as the "Coronation" in the Brera, are almost crowded with figures. One cannot feel that Crivelli was ever quite at home in those attempts at more elaborate composition. The pairs of saints which we have mentioned, especially those in the Brera triptych, are much more successful than *e.g.* the effect produced by the "Coronation" in the same gallery. In other cases, attendant saints, though not divided from the central group by any framework, have no more relation to it than if they occupied a separate panel. Look at the self-centred Sebastian of the Odoni altar-piece in the National Gallery (No. 724). In spite of himself, Crivelli was always reverting to what we must regard as his true vocation, the production of isolated figures undisturbed by action or emotion. As compositions, his most successful efforts were undoubtedly his "Pietàs." Almost the only subject picture which has come down to us—the "Annunciation," in the National Gallery—does not, charming as it is, reveal any powers of composition proper. The scenery, indeed, is arranged in an ingenious and interesting manner, but the figures of the principal group have little or no relation to it. A much higher level is attained in the rare predella scenes, those of the Odoni altar-piece in the National Gallery (No. 724), being the best examples. Yet even here we must observe that the subjects are just

Hanfstaengl photo] [*Lateran Gallery*

VIRGIN AND CHILD (1482)

those which admit of symmetrical and conventional treatment.

In the use of accessories Crivelli shows a marked tendency as time goes on to increase their splendour and elaboration. His pictures in this sense become more and more purely decorative. Landscape backgrounds occur more frequently in the earlier than in the later part of the list of his works. We are not speaking of the rare cases in which Crivelli depicted an event in the open air, such as the "Vision of Gabriele Ferretti" (National Gallery, No. 668), or the "Crucifixion" of the Brera (No. 189). These are necessarily placed in a landscape. But among the formal compositions which have the Virgin for their central figure, perhaps the latest, with a landscape background, is the "Madonna" at South Kensington. In the later works we get a plain or patterned gold surface, or else elaborate architectural and textile backgrounds.

Whether there be a landscape at the sides or not, a narrow strip of stuff nearly always hangs behind the Virgin, often covering part of the throne. Here again we find an illustration of the tendency towards elaboration. Till well on in his career, Crivelli almost always represents this hanging as of plain watered silk.* The latest dated picture on which it may be observed is the Lateran "Madonna," of 1482. So regular a feature is it in the earlier and middle periods, and so completely is it absent in the latter, that it may be used (though it is

* It is generally of a peculiar colour, not easy to describe. Hence considerable variety in the descriptions of a particular picture. Red, lilac, violet, are all more or less imperfect attempts to represent it. We have usually called it "pale red."

seldom necessary) to confirm the date of a picture. About the middle of his career, a hanging of brocaded stuff begins to make its appearance. The "St. Bernardino," of 1477, in the Louvre, is one of the earliest instances. As time goes on this ousts the simpler material and becomes increasingly elaborate.

We will only mention one other instance of Crivelli's increasing love of elaboration, and that is in the architectural accessories. The Virgin's throne in the earlier pictures is of comparatively simple construction and without much carved enrichment. The only important exceptions are the ancona at Ascoli and Sir F. Cook's "Madonna." It is more elaborate in the pictures of 1476 and 1482 (Lateran). In the Brera triptych of the latter year the throne has become a much more important feature, adorned with coloured marbles, and enriched with carvings and many members. The later instances are all of the same character. Nowhere are the architectural features more richly elaborated than in the National Gallery "Annunciation" (1486). In this respect it should be compared with the earlier version now at Frankfurt, and also with that at Massa. The series of pictures with the Pietà subject provides another set of instances. Compare the marble front of the tomb in the Vatican "Pietà" with that in the "Dead Christ supported by Angels," of the National Gallery.

With so much that was archaic and conventional in his art, Crivelli had nevertheless a real appreciation for and searching after realism in its proper place. We need not dwell on the living characterisation and individuality of so many of his figures, particularly on the variety and truth of his representations of the

Divine Child. But it is in the sphere of animal and vegetable life that the seeking after realism is most apparent. Few of his pictures are without those accessories of fruit and flowers, the decorative effect of which he understood so well; and they are all studied from nature. And we notice that he is not content merely to introduce his fruit in formal festoons, or his flowers in vessels of glass or painted ware, though these themselves are rendered with patient accuracy; but the flowers sometimes lie, as they have been plucked, on the steps of the Madonna's throne, and single pieces of fruit are placed, with a curious simplicity of effect, just where the beauty of their colour or surface will tell best. His love for such things comes out again in his substitution in some cases of festoons of real fruit for the ordinary bas-reliefs on the face of the marble steps of his thrones (*cf.* the Brera triptych and the Odoni altar-piece). We may notice in passing that it is this same realistic tendency which leads him so often to represent his marble surfaces as cracked and fractured.

But it is perhaps in his representations of animal life that this interest is most striking. He is careful, however, to restrict it to landscape scenes, its appropriate place. Fruit and flowers may be introduced as purely decorative objects amid the most formal surroundings. Animals can only be used for the same purpose in an idealised form; and the parallels in the animal world to the use of fruit are the conventionalised dolphins and elephant heads that appear in some of his architectural ornaments.* Animals represented in their natural

* The frieze with elephant heads occurs three times—in the Brera triptych, the "Magdalen," at Berlin, and the "Virgin in Ecstasy," of the National Gallery.

forms must be placed in natural surroundings. It is, therefore, only in the comparatively rare landscape scenes that we find them—*e.g.* the ducks in the "Vision of Ferretti," and the animals round St. Jerome in the predella of the Odoni altar-piece. The latter especially are surprisingly truthful studies of animal forms and attitude, quite in the spirit of Pisanello, and perhaps not altogether unconnected with him. St. John the Baptist, even though isolated in the panel of an ancona, is generally represented in a rocky landscape. It is therefore quite in keeping to introduce (as in the instance in the National Gallery) a natural bird seated on the twig of a leafless tree with its back to the spectator—evidently a favourite study, as it reappears in the "Vision of Ferretti." On the other hand, when St. Jerome stands alone, or grouped with other saints round the throne, his lion, both in size and treatment, assumes a conventional and heraldic shape, to remind us that we are no longer in the open air, and that it is a formal attribute of the saint. We need only refer to examples in the National Gallery and at Venice.

This part of the subject may be concluded by a word about Crivelli's landscapes, of which we may say generally that they are not realistic in the same degree as his representations of natural objects. As we have shown, the landscape background does not grow more frequent with him as time goes on. Interesting as its details are, he preferred the broader effects of rich stuffs and precious marbles. When he has introduced it, the foreground, whether rock or grass, is treated in a thoroughly conventional way. The distance is more real, and recalls with curious fidelity the effect of the

Hanfstaengl photo] [*Accademia, Venice*

ST. JEROME AND ST. AUGUSTINE

country of the Marches, with its endless succession of steep isolated hills, all carefully cultivated. But the treatment in detail is very much like that of the early Flemish painters or of the miniatures of manuscripts, with its conventional town, country road, and rounded trees. Crivelli seldom omits the leafless tree which he seems to have brought with him from North Italy. It may have been an invention of the School of Padua.*

A very few words must suffice for the treatment of Crivelli's technique. About the methods of the old masters we have so little information that we cannot do more than consider the results which we possess in their pictures. In the case of Crivelli, the inferences are fairly obvious. From the beginning to the end of his career he always painted in tempera, to which, as Crowe and Cavalcaselle remark, he "clings with a desperate fondness at a time when all painters were trying oils" (i. 89). But he used it with a perfection which has never been surpassed. Without any marked tendency towards flatness, he has no strong contrasts of light and shade; and his effects, especially in drapery, are mainly produced by the juxtaposition of elaborate patterns with broad surfaces of colour relieved by simple hatching. The use of gold, either applied to a flat surface or in the form of raised ornaments, need only be alluded to. Out of these materials, Crivelli built up his pictures with patient and painful care. He was never careless. We cannot think of a picture of his which could be described as hurried or superficial. The result is that his clear tones and enamel-like surfaces

* It appears in Squarcione's altar-piece with St. Jerome at Padua.

remain to-day as perfect, save for accidental abrasures, as when they left his hands.

With such slow and painstaking methods, it was not to be expected that Crivelli would be a prolific painter. We may think that the number of his pictures is very small, and yet we could hardly expect more. For the twenty-five years which approximately represent his life as a painter, we possess rather more than fifty pictures. Let us suppose that half as many more have perished or otherwise disappeared. That would give us a production of just three works a year; and, when we think of the labour and care to which every panel in existence testifies, the estimate is not unreasonable.

Quite in harmony with this conception of him as a worker is the fact that few if any of his pictures bear traces of the handiwork of assistants. In quality they are astonishingly uniform. Orders, no doubt, came in plentifully as soon as his reputation was established, but apparently he only undertook those which he could carry out with his own hands. The rest were assigned to Vittorio and Petrus Alamanus. We have been saved from much confusion in consequence.

Finally, we must say a word about Crivelli's rank as an artist. When our attention is concentrated on a single painter there is a danger, especially in the case of one like Crivelli, whose isolation makes comparisons difficult, that our judgment on him may be too partial, and therefore we should be unwilling to say anything which might appear exaggerated or paradoxical. Crivelli had certain obvious limitations, existing partly in his circumstances, partly too, we may believe, in himself. Those limitations do not depend on archaism

simply. By an archaic style, we generally mean the style of a school or of a painter at an early stage of its historical development, and this only indirectly affects the greatness of a particular artist. A great artist may appear archaic as compared with the future progress of his art, but as compared with his contemporaries he is in advance of his time. The relatively elementary resources which were at the disposal of Giotto do not obscure the fact that he was one of the greatest artists, not only of his own, but of any age. But it is quite a different matter when archaism is the result of a deliberate conservatism, when it falls behind the times, and, as we might say, becomes conscious instead of being the simple and natural form of expression. It is inconceivable that an artist of the very first rank should be a reactionary, and it cannot be denied that, in this sense, Crivelli is a reactionary. It may be true, as we have pointed out, that local circumstances were partly responsible for his remaining so little affected by the art-movements of his time. But not less perhaps was due to his own character. As we have insisted more than once, the vocation which he chose, or which was imposed upon him, was that of bringing to all the perfection of which it was capable the old Venetian art. In that he showed himself great. The scope was limited—the treatment of the isolated figure from a point of view at once ideal and decorative. And in his methods—the use of gold, and the medium of tempera—he was equally loyal to the old traditions, because, no doubt, he felt that they were the best adapted to his purpose. But, given those ideals, and given those methods, we can only say, with his greatest works

before us, that performance could no farther go. He sums up all the resources of Byzantine practice. The ornamental possibilities of the mosaics, the use of gems and of the precious metals, the feeling for beautiful surfaces, all receive in him the highest employment that can be given them in painting.

At the end of the last century Crivelli's pictures were still to be found for the most part in their original homes in the churches of eastern Italy, unsought for by collectors, and noticed only in the briefest way by the historians of Italian art. With the age of the Revolution, and more particularly with the establishment of the Napoleonic kingdom of Italy, a change came. Convents were suppressed, and pictures were swept together into the great collections. A number of Crivelli's works went to Rome, and still more to the Brera at Milan, where some of them found a permanent home while others wandered still farther afield. After 1815 the process of removal was accelerated by the growing interest in the works of the Italian "Primitives." D'Agincourt, in his "Monumens," published in 1823, was the first to give reproductions of some of Crivelli's pictures. When once he became known, his decorative character and fine workmanship made him peculiarly attractive to one class of collectors. Among them Englishmen were prominent, and there was a time when, excluding the Brera and the National Gallery, the collections of Mr Alexander Barker and of the late Lord Dudley contained between them most of the finest Crivellis in existence. But the supply was limited. By the middle of this century practically all the available pictures had come into the market. On

the other hand, the acquisitions of public galleries on the dispersal of the two above-named collections still further diminished the number of fine specimens within the reach of the collector. The result has been that, with a steady advance in the estimation of Crivelli, there has been a constant decrease in the supply; and the increasing prices that have been paid in recent years for such pictures as have come into the market are the measure of the value which is now set upon them. At the Dudley sale in 1892 the great altar-piece by Crivelli approached most nearly in price to Raphael's "Crucifixion."*

* 7000 guineas were paid for it.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY WORKS

WHICH is the oldest picture by Crivelli in existence? Is there any picture which belongs to the time before he left the region of Venice for the Marches? In answer to both questions we can produce the "Virgin and Child" now at Verona. In the first place, it is the only picture which we can trace back to Venice, for apparently, after he had once left it, Crivelli did no more work for the city whose name was never absent from his signature. But while the *provenance* of the picture is evidence about the painter's residence, its style bears witness to a corresponding period in his training as an artist. While nearly all his works testify more or less directly to his derivation from the Vivarini, this one above all others, demonstrates his connection with the school of Padua. The setting of the picture and the accessories would by themselves be sufficient to prove this. It was in the school of Squarcione that architectural structures of coloured marbles forming a framework or background for the figures originated. The realistic treatment of the ruined wall on the left, as well as the festoon of fruit, suggest the same influences. But there is another point of view. Morelli was the first to remark that this picture recalls the types of Gregorio Schiavone.

Alinari photo] [*Verona*

VIRGIN AND CHILD

But Schiavone, as we have seen (p. 9), is the pupil through whom we are brought nearest to Squarcione, the head of the school. It is in the child-types, with their curious pinched up features, that the connection is most apparent. The only example of Squarcione which is even plausibly available for purposes of comparison—the Lazzara altar-piece at Padua—shows the same peculiarity in the heads. But, while dwelling on these elements, we must not forget—and the observation is important in the case of an artist of such strong individuality—that the picture, and especially its principal figure, the Virgin, is already thoroughly Crivellian. We note, too, the hanging of watered silk, and the brocaded mantle covering the head. The expression of the Virgin's face has been considerably affected by the alteration in the arrangement of the hair. Except for this, it contains the germ of the Crivellian type; only the features are broader and less refined, just as in the hands the anatomical structure is not insisted upon and the fingers have not yet obtained that slender tapering form which became so characteristic with him. It was a curious fancy to represent the actors in the "Flagellation" scene on the left as children. The figure grasping the column is a reduced copy of the Infant Jesus standing in front of the Virgin.

If we were able to believe in the signature prominently inscribed on the predella with the "Pietà" at Berlin (No. 1173), we should have to discuss and account for another primitive work by Crivelli. But, as we have explained elsewhere (p. 100), it cannot be brought into relation with anything that we know about him. On

the one hand, it is not the Crivelli with whom we are familiar; and, on the other, it suggests neither Jacobello, nor the Vivarini, nor Padua. The landscape with its rows of round bushes and curious pyramidal trees, cut, as it were, in layers, which occur again in Crivelli's "St. George," and in the "Madonna" at South Kensington, together with the brocade mantle in which the female saint on the right is enveloped, probably suggested the name to the person who thought to confirm his attribution by clumsily inserting a signature.

The region of Fermo, as we have seen, witnessed Crivelli's earliest activity in the Marches. At Massa, half-way between Fermo and Macerata, there is still preserved the picture which he finished in 1468 for the parish church of S. Silvestro. Originally painted for the high altar, when taste changed it was relegated to the bell-room, where it suffered a good deal of damage. At the time of Crowe and Cavalcaselle's visit, it had been removed to the sacristy, and later was in the priest's house, but for many years past it has hung in the Sindaco's office in the Municipio.* The ancona is of a simple form, and apparently nothing has been lost; but the architectural framework—if there ever was one—has perished, and the panels present a very bald appearance. As a work of art it is one of the least attractive of Crivelli's pictures. The figures are stiff, and the colour is dull, though this may be partly due to the treatment which the picture has received. But it is of great importance as the earliest dated work, and as forming the connecting link between what we

* Mr Alexander Barker made an unsuccessful attempt to buy the picture about 1860. Brancadoro, Notizie di Massa, p. 50.

[*Massa Fermana*

ALTAR-PIECE (1468)

may call his Venetian stage and his fully formed and characteristic style.

"The Virgin," though weak and characterless as compared with his later examples, is already of the refined and delicate though rather melancholy type, with which we shall become familiar. Crivelli has yet hardly learnt to bring the mother and the Child together by those tender glances and caressing attitudes which are so exquisitely expressed in some of his later works. The Virgin here seems to have little interest in the Child, or anything else. But, with all its defects, the type is a notable advance, and the affinity with his later Virgins is unmistakable. On the other hand, the Child as clearly belongs to the Squarcionesque type, which appears in the Verona picture. The accessories are the usual ones in the early pictures; a simple marble throne, and a hanging of red watered silk.

The four saints flanking the central panel present the same characteristics. They are unmistakably Crivellian, but they are still only on the way to that strength of characterisation which he was so soon to reach. Take, for instance, the St. Silvester, and compare it with the later version of the same type, the St. Peter, in the National Gallery altar-piece (No. 788). It is the same model, and, making allowance for the fact that the one is on the right and the other on the left of the central panel, the pose is identical. On the whole, the St. Silvester is the best of the Massa panels, but if we put it by the side of the St. Peter, it appears at once less strong and less interesting. The head of the Silvester is fine, but it has not the sort of grim fascinating power of the St.

Peter. Notice, too, how in the latter the formal and rather uninteresting straight line of the cope and its orphrey has been improved by being caught up under the right arm. St. Lawrence, again, is comparatively weak in character, though elaborate care has been spent on his vestments. St. Francis touches a higher level, and compares favourably with later examples of the same theme. The Baptist, with his bony, anatomical forms, set in a rocky landscape, decidedly suggests Padua.

The four scenes in the predella, not to speak of their having suffered considerably, are, on the whole, ugly and elementary. The "Crucifixion," with its clumsy, formless Christ, and grotesque weeping Virgin is typical. The figures in the "Flagellation" are better drawn, and the scene is animated and well finished. The "Resurrection" has been much damaged, but enough remains to show that it is far behind the similar subject in the Northbrook collection, which cannot have been painted many years later. The three gabled panels which originally crowned the ancona, display an equal lack of skill. The dead Christ in the centre shows little feeling for anatomy or sense of form in the body, and the arms and hands are poor. The "Annunciation," the earliest version of a subject which Crivelli developed later with great elaboration, is better in drawing, but without much interest.

This is the oldest ancona of Crivelli's which has survived, but it can hardly have been his earliest attempt at that form of picture. As in other cases, the figures seem to have little relation to the central panel or to one another; a deficiency inherent in the form of the ancona, which Crivelli only partially got over when

Hanfstaengl photo] [*Sir F. Cook's Collection*

VIRGIN AND CHILD

he abandoned it later for groups of figures on a single panel.

The picture which presents the closest resemblance to the altar-piece of Massa, is the "Virgin and Child" belonging to Sir F. Cook. But, as Mr. Berenson remarks,* it is more advanced in type and characteristics, and must therefore be placed after it. The picture at Massa has suffered so much that it is hardly fair to compare its dulled and sombre surface with the bright and clear tones of the picture at Richmond. Originally there may have been less difference between them. The composition is simple enough. It is a tall, round-topped panel, in which the Virgin, seated on a throne, holds the Child standing on her knee, while the small figure of a donor kneels below. The types of both mother and Child at once recall those of Massa. But the Virgin's features, though they have something of the same vacancy, are more refined and expressive. The Child is still of the type which we may call Squarcionesque. But when we come to the accessories, their elaboration is such that we might be looking at a picture of Crivelli's latest period. The Virgin indeed, as at Massa, wears a plain blue mantle with a narrow gold border; and behind the throne is the hanging of red watered silk which is a regular feature of the early works. But the throne itself, with the fantastic dolphins which form its arms and frame its arched and inscribed head, has only one parallel till a much later date. No better instance could be given of the way in which Crivelli sometimes, as it were, anticipates himself.

* Notes, 11.

We next come to a group of Madonnas which, while of a decidedly early type, show an advance on the Massa and Richmond pictures, and must therefore be regarded as subsequent to them.

First, we may place the "Madonna" at Ancona. In some respects it presents analogies with the one at Verona. In both she is enveloped in a brocaded mantle coming up over the head, and the sash round the Child's waist is arranged in the same peculiar way. Both, too, have a landscape background and a festoon of fruit. On the other hand, the heads and the action show distinct progress. The Virgin has lost the look of vacancy, and her eyes are fixed with interest and affection on the Child, who also displays more life than we have hitherto seen. The Virgin's left hand is stiff and affected, but the action is more expressive than in the earlier cases. The Child, however, still bears evident traces of its derivation from the Squarcionesque type.

Later, we think, than the Ancona picture, though nearer to it, perhaps, in date than anything that we possess, comes Lord Northbrook's "Madonna." The design is very similar. The landscape background, the curtain, the festoon of fruit, are almost precisely the same. But the marble balustrade in front is of more elaborate workmanship, and for the first time Crivelli has introduced, in the right hand corner, the fracture of which he became so fond, and, in the left, a fly, represented with minute accuracy. The Child, though not a particularly successful creation, is more natural and less "Squarcionesque." Above all, the Virgin, though her look cannot be called expressive, has more refine-

[*Lord Northbrook's Collection*

VIRGIN AND CHILD

Anderson photo] [*Ancona*

VIRGIN AND CHILD

ment and charm in her features than any that we have yet seen. She is the prototype of that Crivellian type of beauty of which the Virgin in the Brera triptych is a good example.

The Macerata picture for its early date (1470) is surprisingly advanced. The Virgin's features have that suggestion of melancholy which is illustrated again by the Lateran picture. The Child is well drawn, and of a not unpleasing type, with chubby face, and full, curling hair. It has nothing of the Squarcionesque character. The action is simple and direct; the expression of a moment of pure affection. The fingers are not strained from their natural position, and it is noticeable that, as in other early examples, they have not that attenuated form of which later he became so fond. The exaggerated foreshortening of the Child's foot also appears in some of the earlier pictures. In its types, which are really all that is left for comparison, the Macerata picture comes closest perhaps to Lord Northbrook's "Madonna," but it has also points of contact, as we shall see presently, with some later works. Any comparison of the accessories has been made impossible by the mutilation of the picture. High as it may be ranked for unaffected charm, we think that Mr Berenson is scarcely justified in calling this "the loveliest of all Crivelli's Madonnas."*

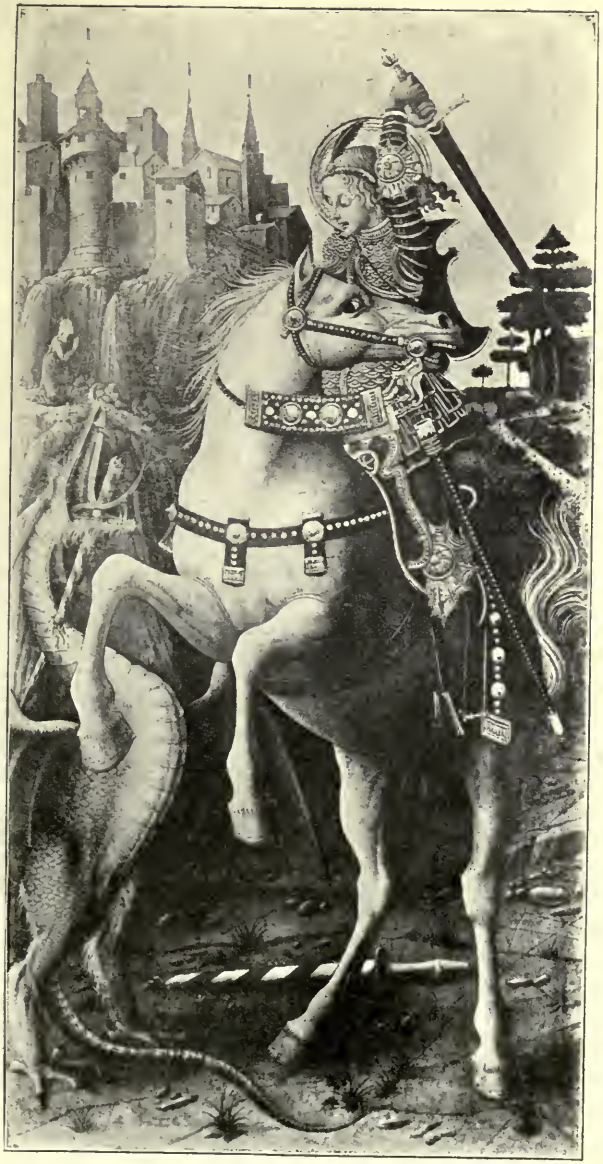
Somewhere in this group a place must be found for the Stonyhurst "Madonna." The elaborate perfection of the brocaded drapery and of the decorative accessories, together with the animation of the Child, show that it does not belong to the earliest stage.

* Notes, 11.

On the other hand, the almost expressionless features of the Virgin resemble most nearly the type of the Madonna at Verona. But, on the whole, we must assign it rather to the end of the period than to the beginning.

The last of the group of early Madonnas, and in some ways the finest, is the picture, dated 1472, belonging to Mr Benson. The effect is archaic and almost Byzantine, but its merits are very great. Though on a comparatively small scale the decorative effect is superb. The Child's head is heavy, and inferior to that of Macerata, but the action is lively and realistic. The great charm, however, of the picture is the Virgin. Her features are not beautiful, and the drawing of the hands might be criticised. But if ever grace and dignity were conceived and executed by Crivelli they are here. Pre-eminently does this Virgin possess all that we understand by "distinction." Taken separately, the turn of the head and the action of the fingers might be called affected. But they do not offend as parts of the whole, so perfectly has the artist defined the ideal that was before his mind. A curious feature in the picture is the treatment of the drapery. The folds of the brocaded mantle are more elaborate than anything which Crivelli had yet attempted, and they are expressed by clear-cut lines without any shadow. It must be regarded as an experiment which Crivelli did not repeat. There is no further trace of it in any of his known works.

We shall probably not be wrong in associating with these early pictures the very fine "St. George and the Dragon," now at Boston. The picture,



[*Mrs J. L. Gardner's Collection*

ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON

with all its lavish use of raised gilt ornament, which Crivelli later restricted or abandoned,* nevertheless, shows few traces of the elementary stage. The action is extraordinarily vigorous and full of life. The dragon has been transfixed by the lance in the act of making its deadly spring. St. George, rising in the stirrups, and grasping his sword in both hands, is about to deal the final blow. The concentrated expression of the face, with the open mouth as if uttering some imprecation on the monster, is admirably suited to the action. The horse rearing, with head averted from the dragon, shares in the excitement of the supreme moment. The composition is ingenious and original. The interest of the scene is largely increased by the foreshortening of the horse, which seems to bear down on the spectator. Mr Berenson has well compared this picture with the interesting one of the same subject by an unknown painter at Brescia, but there we see at once how comparatively tame is the side view of the scene.

To the same period we may also ascribe Lord Northbrook's "Resurrection." The composition is of the familiar and conventional type which Crivelli had already utilised in the predella at Massa. But in workmanship, as well as in elevation of feeling, there is a notable advance on the earlier version.

To this first period of residence at Fermo we may assign a now dismembered altar-piece, of which important fragments are in the National Gallery, at Brussels, and at High Legh Hall in Cheshire. We have already explained (pp. 16-17) the grounds for believing

* Compare the treatment of the similar scene in the predella of the Odoni altar-piece in the National Gallery (No. 724).

that these panels belong to the period before Crivelli settled at Ascoli about 1473, and not to the second visit to Fermo in 1487. Independent consideration of their style would suggest a relatively early date. We therefore feel some confidence in placing them near to the Macerata picture of 1470; and we shall see presently how the neighbouring "Madonna," at Pausula, confirms this conclusion.

The altar-piece was in the convent church at Monte Fiore, near Fermo. It is described as a triptych, having in the centre the Virgin and Child, flanked by St. Francis and St. Peter Martyr. Above was the Dead Christ supported by Angels. The predella contained half-lengths of Christ and the twelve apostles. When Italy was conquered by the French Revolutionary armies at the end of the last century the altar-piece was dismembered. Later, the greater part of it reappeared at Rome; and some forty years ago the "Madonna" and "St. Francis" became the property of the Royal Gallery at Brussels, while the "Dead Christ" passed to the National Gallery. The Christ and seven apostles from the predella were acquired by the late Mr G. Cornwall Legh, and are still at High Legh Hall.*

The Brussels "Madonna" impresses one, above all,

* See the Official Catalogue of the Brussels Gallery (by E. Fétis), p. 121. The fact that the Brussels "Madonna" and the National Gallery panel are *both* signed might arouse some suspicion about the truth of the above account. We know of no other case in which the signature is repeated in different parts of the same altar-piece. On the other hand, it will be noticed that the two panels are of exactly the same width. The dimensions of the predella panels, of which there were thirteen, show, I think, pretty clearly that there must have been (as usual) four and not two full-length figures flanking the Madonna.

[*National Gallery*

THE DEAD CHRIST SUPPORTED BY ANGELS

Hanfstaengl photo] [*Brussels Gallery*

VIRGIN AND CHILD

with the feeling of life. Those of Macerata and of Mr Benson were indeed distinguished from the earlier pictures by the same quality, but here we get it in an ever higher degree. The Virgin's eyes are no longer half closed, nor is her expression either melancholy or abstracted. The Child, of the fully-developed type which we have seen hitherto only at Macerata, turns its face towards the mother with a look which is animated if not positively mischievous. Crivelli by no means always adhered to the types which he had here created. Especially in the case of the Virgin his tendency is to revert to the melancholy and abstracted type, however refined and softened it may become in later instances. Perhaps this picture may be regarded as the most successful example of its particular type. We may further note among the accessories the first occurrence of the treatment of the face of the marble steps as a sculptured frieze; a form of decoration which becomes quite regular in the later pictures. It was not, however, an invention of Crivelli's, for it appears in Bartolommeo Vivarini, and no doubt originated at Padua.

Were we not in possession of the facts about its *provenance*, the "Dead Christ," in the National Gallery (No. 602), would hardly in itself suggest an immediate connection with the panels at Brussels. It is true that it has indications of a relatively early date, in the simple architectural forms of the tomb, and in the piece of red watered silk which hangs over its front. The boy-angels have the same fully-developed type of features as the Child at Brussels, and the treatment of the hair is much the same. But both in action and in the expression of a kind of reverent sympathy, not to

speak of the treatment of the drapery, they are far beyond anything that we have yet met with. The picture, in fact, illustrates how thoroughly appropriate Crivelli's conceptions always are, when he had once become master of his art. Here we get side by side the quiet cheerfulness of the Virgin and Child, and the deep pathos of the attendants on the dead Christ. We may add that the form of the latter shows an immense advance on the gable panel at Massa, the only previous example of the subject. The tone of this beautiful picture is surpassingly clear and brilliant.

With this group of pictures we may associate the striking "Madonna" at Pausula. We know from the signature on the Macerata picture that Crivelli was at work in the Fermo district in 1470, and with this work, especially through the allied "Madonna" at Brussels, the picture at Pausula has definite analogies; particularly in the broad, flat, clear treatment, with little or no shadow, and sharply-defined outlines, and also in the type of the Child. But it is by far the strongest of the group, and in any case marks a distinct advance on anything which we have yet examined.

The composition is quite unlike anything that Crivelli had yet, or indeed ever produced, and is decidedly original. Framed is a *mandorla* or *vesica* of winged cherub heads, the Virgin is holding the Child to her bared breast; a motive common in all stages of Italian art, but unique among Crivelli's surviving pictures. The crowned and majestic mother, of a type which is less tender and more grand than most of Crivelli's Virgins, looks down on the Child, who glances at the spectator with head thrown back and action

[*Pausula*

VIRGIN AND CHILD

full of life and reality. Noteworthy, too, is the broad and effective treatment of the drapery. We cannot tell how the composition was originally completed, for at some much later period (seventeenth or eighteenth century) the sides of the panel have been daubed over with angels, and a background of clouds. Damaged and disfigured as it is, and hanging in a mean and narrow sacristy, this picture cannot fail to strike the spectator as one of Crivelli's most monumental and impressive works.

While the ancona of 1473, still in the cathedral of Ascoli, indicates, as we have seen reason to believe, the beginning of a new episode in Crivelli's life, it does not reveal any great advance on the works which we have just been considering. It is, indeed, the most elaborate existing work which he had yet produced, and we have only to compare it with the altar-piece of Massa in order to see that the five years between them have been marked by decided progress both in skill and conception. And yet, when we take into consideration the Macerata and Benson "Madonnas" (only to mention those of which the dates are certain; the contrast with the works at Pausula and Monte Fiore is still greater), we must confess that, for so important a commission, the result is disappointing. On the whole it falls short of the promise of the later productions of the residence at Fermo. The Virgin is a not unsuccessful attempt after that refined and delicate ideal which was one day to be realised in the Brera triptych. But the redeeming feature of the whole is the panel which contains St. Emidius, the patron of Ascoli. In one sense the most important figure in this assembly of

saints, Crivelli evidently concentrated all his efforts upon it. Calm, dignified, self-contained, the saint, through all the elaborate magnificence of his episcopal vestments, remains a character and a personality. Whether Crivelli created this youthful beardless type, or whether he inherited it from tradition or older local works of art, it is interesting to notice that it became fixed for the presentation of St. Emidius. Only one other example from Crivelli's hand has reached us, in the "Annunciation," of the National Gallery, where he is represented with far less elaboration and distinction than in this his earliest attempt, though the likeness is unmistakable. Formerly there must have been other examples in pictures at Ascoli which have disappeared. But the type thus created reappears not only in the work of Crivelli's pupils, but also in the beautiful silver statue of the saint made in 1487 by Pietro Vanini and still the property of the cathedral.*

The other figures do not call for much notice, but we may observe that St. Peter, though presenting the familiar Crivellian type, does not wear the triple crown as in the later examples. The "Pietà" panel, which occupies its usual place in the centre of the upper tier, is the earliest complete treatment of the theme by Crivelli which has come down to us. It will be enough to say that it is the prototype of the Crawshay and Panciatichi versions, and that it is as far from attaining the truth and pathos of those masterpieces as it is inferior to them in skill of composition.

* See *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 1897, p. 99. A later example showing the same type is a seventeenth-century painted wooden statue now in the Baptistery.

[*Museo Poldi-Pezzoli, Milan*

CHRIST AND ST. FRANCIS

One may notice how this picture, especially the central panel, in a way sums up the past and anticipates the future work of Crivelli, not only in the types but also in its details. The elaborate throne, the brocade hanging, the background of cherub heads, are all features of his later style.

Before leaving this first period of Crivelli's activity, we may refer to a group of pictures which present certain features in common and appear to belong to it. They are all of small dimensions. The most interesting is the panel in the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum at Milan, which represents the Saviour appearing with the instruments of the Passion to St. Francis, who kneels before him and receives in a chalice the stream of blood from the pierced side. The facial types have a meagre look which suggests relationship with those of Schiavone. And the accessories—the ruined wall treated realistically, the column, and the landscape seen through an arch on the left—all provide points of contact with the "Madonna" at Verona. It is true that the hanging behind the Cross is not of watered silk but of brocade. But it is curious that its treatment is exactly the same as that of the Virgin's mantle in the Verona picture, the design being expressed by dark lines on a light ground. The effect produced by the elaborate patterned brocades in the later pictures is quite different. The instances are so obvious that it is unnecessary to specify them.

The forms which appear in the small "Dead Christ supported by Angels" in the Louvre (No. 1269), are very similar. And, generally, the signs of early date are even more obvious and definite. Not to speak of

the watered silk hanging, the angel on the right reproduces the features of the Child in the Ancona picture. There can be little doubt, in fact, that we must date this panel earlier than the Monte Fiore version in the National Gallery (No. 602). It illustrates another common feature of these small panels—the way in which the high lights are strongly defined.

On the two panels representing the "Annunciation" at Frankfurt, obviously an early version of the picture of 1486 in the National Gallery, we shall have more to say when we come to the later picture. Here it will be enough to point out the similarity in types and treatment with the pictures we have just been discussing. But the Virgin has a beauty and charm which bring her into comparison with some of the best examples in the succeeding period.

Hanfstaengl photo] [*National Gallery*

ALTAR-PIECE (1476)

CHAPTER V

LATER WORKS

By the year 1475 we may consider that Crivelli had perfected his art. Though we shall find plenty of signs of progress up to the end of his career, it is not untrue to say that there was little left for him to learn. His ideals had been fixed, and his methods had been tested. All traces of the elementary stage have disappeared. His hand is no longer cramped by lack of skill, or his conceptions by the models received from his masters.

The earliest dated work of the fully developed style is the great ancona in the National Gallery (No. 788), painted for the Dominican Church at Ascoli in 1476. For the details of its history we must refer to our index, but it is important to remember that the four panels of the highest tier do not belong to the original altar-piece. They are pretty, but have not the strength and character of the other portions. Otherwise they are not a bad match, as there is nothing to point to any substantial difference in date.

Turning to the original nine panels, any one familiar with Crivelli's pictures will notice how many of his types are here exhibited. The Virgin, with her high arched eyebrows, small mouth, and hair tightly drawn back from the forehead, reappears in many pictures. Seldom has Crivelli represented her with a more charm-

ing smile. The St. Peter is the St. Peter in the Brera picture of 1482, and a favourite model of Crivelli's. One of the finest panels is the St. Andrew, with its grand head, strong lines, and powerful drawing. Crivelli is here at his best in his hard and severe style. Not less remarkable for power of characterisation is the St. Thomas Aquinas, or the St. Francis for its expression of intense feeling. The St. Stephen is more formal, and less interesting. On the lower row the Baptist with its hard lines and severe forms has the same merits as the St. Andrew. The landscape in which he stands should not be passed over, with the stream flowing at his feet and the tree stems broken off so as not to interfere with the gold background which sets off the upper half of the figure. The St. Peter still shows that free use of raised ornament and imitation gems which Crivelli gradually dropped. The corresponding St. Peter in the Brera picture of 1482 is not so heavily overladen. The strong feeling for naturalism which is often prominent in Crivelli's best work is well illustrated by the infant Christ, fast asleep with one hand under his head, while with the other he grasps his mother's middle finger—a picture drawn from the life. The St. Catherine is not a remarkable figure, but St. Dominic is admirable in its expression of piety and humility, and in the personality with which Crivelli has invested it. Finally, one may notice how this altar-piece is characteristic of the two elements in Crivelli, sternness and severity, illustrated by the St. Peter and St. Andrew, and the delicate grace of the Virgin and St. Catherine. However diverse their origin, both styles were absorbed and transformed in his overmastering individuality, and made entirely his own.

[*Mr C. Loeser's Collection*

ST. PETER
(*From a Drawing*)

This will be a convenient opportunity for discussing the only known drawing by Crivelli—the "St. Peter," belonging to Mr Loeser; for its analogies with the forms of the altar-piece of 1476 are closer than those of any other picture. We may regret that we have no other examples by which to test its character, but on internal grounds we see no reason to doubt its authenticity. That it is "Crivellian" there can be no question. On the other hand, its severe and hard aspect is characteristic of Crivelli himself, but not of his pupils. In draughtsmanship and technique the drawing is perhaps disappointing; but when we place it beside the unerring outlines and enamel-like surfaces of his finished panels we must remember the difference of the conditions under which the first sketch is made with the pen, from the slow and deliberate processes by which the complete picture is built up. There is nothing in this drawing really inconsistent with its coming from Crivelli's hand. Finally, we must not forget that it has suffered in various ways, and reaches us somewhat blurred and disfigured. The reproduction, it need scarcely be added, does not improve matters.

The head is obviously that favourite model which we find in the "St. Silvester," at Massa, and more definitely in the St. Peter of several pictures. In the versions of 1476 (National Gallery, No. 788) and 1482 (Brera, No. 283) the type is more strongly marked than here, but the likeness is unmistakable. For the forms of head and hands, as well as for the drapery, we would compare especially the "St. Andrew," and the "St. Thomas Aquinas," in the National Gallery. The technique is simple, the modelling being generally expressed by

variations in the compactness of the straight hatching. Cross hatching is only sparingly used.

Somewhere between the great altar-piece in the National Gallery and the Brera triptych we may place the "Magdalen" at Berlin. Of the two, it has perhaps a closer affinity with the former. A point of contact in detail with the latter is the design of the frieze on the step, with cherubs set in volutes of conventional foliage which terminate in elephant heads. The same motive may be seen in the Brera picture on the small portion of the step which appears in the left-hand panel. But, apart from this, the "Magdalen" has all the qualities which distinguish Crivelli's art at its best and most characteristic moment—precision, grace, and refinement, with an elaboration of detail which never becomes excessive. The features, with all Crivelli's peculiarities—the long and pointed nose, the almond-shaped eyes, the high arched eyebrows—have nevertheless a kind of exquisite beauty. The elaborate arrangement of the hair may be compared with that of the female saints in the National Gallery altar-piece. The hands are very characteristic of Crivelli's "precious" style, and graceful in spite of the affectation. The festoon of small-leaved plants and flowers is unique, and quite in keeping with the general effect of delicate refinement which is the keynote of the panel.

We have a dated picture of the next year (1477) in the "St. Bernardino," of the Louvre, also painted for a church at Ascoli. St. Bernardino was a familiar figure in the Marches, and he is conceived here under the well-known portrait type. The result is impressive in its way, but it does not attain to the personality

Hanfstaengl photo] *[Berlin Gallery*

THE MAGDALEN

or the charm of the "St. Dominic" in the National Gallery. There is an absence of relief, a quality in which Crivelli is not usually deficient; and the severity of the drapery becomes almost uninteresting. The hanging behind the saint is of brocaded stuff, the second dated example that we have met with. The small figures of the donors, and the signature, appear to indicate that the panel, in spite of its shape, never formed part of a composite altar-piece.

In 1482 he painted the "Virgin and Child" now in the Lateran. Here Crivelli appears in his most pleasing aspect, a combination of exquisite sentiment and rich decorative effect. The Virgin has nearly the same features as in the picture of the same date in the Brera, which we shall consider next. But here both she and the Child are pervaded by an air of pathetic sadness. With regard to the minor details of the picture, we may note that the form of the throne is like that of the example of 1476 in the National Gallery, and that for the last time in a dated picture we find the watered silk hanging. The festoon of fruit at the top of the picture is not without interest. It is reduced here to a perfectly simple and naturalistic form —two branches, one of the long-shaped Italian apple and the other of plums, tied together. It is a good illustration of the way in which Crivelli appropriated and impressed a character of his own upon the suggestions which he received from outside. If we compare the festoon in the early picture at Verona we shall see it in the fuller and more formal shape in which he acquired it at Padua. Here he has given it quite a fresh character. Other examples are too obvious to

specify. Finally, we may notice how interest is imparted to the step under the Virgin's feet by the fracture in the marble and the signature cut into it like an inscription.

In the same year (1482) Crivelli painted one of his finest pictures for the Dominican Church at Camerino, which originally contained some of his best work. (*Cf.* Brera, 193, etc.) The altar-piece in the form of a triptych is now in the Brera (No. 283). Crivelli never did anything better than this. All his capacities for strong drawing, the grouping and attitude of his figures, the expression of dignity and grace, and general decorative effect, are here seen at their highest. And for the first time we get the figures not isolated in their separate panels but united in a single composition in which each takes its proper place. If this was Crivelli's first experiment in that direction, it was perhaps the most successful. Even taken individually, the figures in power of expression show an advance on the picture of 1476. In the central panel, indeed, and in that to the left we get the Crivelli to whom we have been hitherto accustomed with his range from the severe form of St. Peter and the earnest St. Dominic to the refined and thoughtful features of the Virgin and the natural attitude of the Child playing with a bird. But when we turn on the right to the St. Peter Martyr and San Gimignano (to call him by his familiar Italian name) we reach a higher stage of achievement. Here, for the first time, in these noble figures, full of earnestness and devotion, so true in drawing as well as expressive in their pose, we find the perfect and complete artist. It is seldom that he

Hanfstaengl photo] [*Brera Gallery, Milan*

MADONNA AND SAINTS (1482)

reaches the calm dignity expressed in the S. Gimignano, hardly ever again the intensity of unaffected devotion displayed by St. Peter Martyr. This is the high-water mark of Crivelli's powers as an artist. He never quite rose to it again.

Among the accessories of the picture we may note as signs of maturity the elaborate throne of coloured marbles, and the face of the steps treated like a frieze. We have already remarked (p. 31) upon the way in which the decorative objects on the lowest step are represented naturalistically. It shows how every form of elaboration which the fancy could suggest was lavished on this picture. Notice, too, on a ledge of the throne the roses in a glass, a trick of execution which he has introduced more than once in his later works. It is balanced on the right by a basin of majolica filled with fruit. The use of raised ornament is almost confined to St. Peter. It has a certain appropriateness in helping to emphasise the hieratic character of the figure which it was the artist's intention to express—

> "Like some old priest in antique finery—
> Stiff cope and jewelled head."*

Partaking of the features of the "Madonnas" of 1476 and 1482, and probably coming between them in date, though perhaps nearer to the latter, is the pretty "Virgin and Child" of the Gallery at Buda-Pesth. The Virgin's head is very characteristic, and of the more cheerful Crivellian type. The Child is not so attractive. The throne tends to elaboration.

* Poems by A. C. Benson.

On the other hand, we get the hanging of plain watered silk. Altogether it is one of the most pleasing among Crivelli's works of the second rank. To the same class and period belongs the charming "Madonna" in the Jones Collection at S. Kensington.

Hitherto we have known Crivelli almost exclusively as a painter either of isolated or symmetrically grouped figures, or of subjects (such as the "Pietà") which demand symmetrical treatment. For the first time in the "Annunciation" of 1486 in the National Gallery (No. 739), we come across a subject piece proper. It is interesting enough to make us regret that he did not leave more works of the kind behind him. Perhaps there was little demand for such pictures among his regular employers, who asked for the conventional composite altar-piece.

We have already dwelt on the history of this picture (p. 20). Its design shows no little skill. In the earlier versions which have survived (at Massa and Frankfurt) no great difficulties of composition could arise, for the Virgin and the angel are in separate panels of small dimensions. Here the scene was to form a single composition. He might have placed it, like so many other painters, in a room or a garden or any other simple enclosed space. But this was not enough for Crivelli, whose characteristic it was to impress with his own individuality everything that he touched. Taking a suggestion from his earlier (Frankfurt) version, he has ingeniously combined a charming interior with a long street scene giving room for an extraordinary display of incident and detail. On the right we see the Virgin kneeling in her chamber. The

Hanfstaengl photo] [*S. Kensington Museum*

VIRGIN AND CHILD

house in which she dwells exhibits all the wealth of architectural ornament which we have noticed becoming increasingly prominent in the pictures of this period. At the same time the rich detail is saved from becoming too formal or monotonous by the introduction of various objects in the loggia, of which the most striking are an Eastern carpet and a peacock. Below, the interior with its furniture carries the eye away from the regular lines of the pilasters which frame it. Outside in the street, the foreground is occupied by the kneeling figures of the angel and St. Emidius who holds a model of the Ascoli in his hand. There could not be better examples of what we may call Crivelli's "exquisite" style, which is only just saved by its refinement from mere prettiness and affectation. This angel is a *poseur* if ever there was one. Beyond, the street presents a series of incidents suggestive of the tendency to naturalistic treatment which is such a curious accompaniment and contrast to his ordinary conventional manner. The group talking with a friar at the house door on the left with the child peeping round the corner of the balustrade, the citizen who passes along bent on business, the dandy who shades his eyes from the sun and looks up at the house, the figures on the arch, and the people walking in the open space by the town walls beyond, make up a picture of real life unequalled among Crivelli's works. The execution is not less masterly, with its transparent colour and delicate use of gold to heighten the effect of the accessories.

Of course, this is not Ascoli as Crivelli saw it, any more than we are to suppose that his world was full

of the gorgeously dressed models who figure as his youthful saints. The scene, in fact, is at once real and ideal. Those to whom the aspect of the old Italian towns is familiar will recognise the towering houses, the narrow street, the arch that spans it, and on the arch, as we see so often, the attempt to reproduce a garden with plants in pots and caged birds. But Crivelli has ennobled and idealised all this till it has become a scene such as never existed at Florence or Venice, much less at Ascoli. The rough stone houses have become marble palaces, the bridge a triumphal arch, the rude flower-pots sculptured vases; while the sordid figures which were no doubt as frequent a sight in Italian towns then as now, have made way for decorous and graceful forms. All the elements of scene in short have been transformed so that they may do honour to the event which is taking place in the foreground. As a matter of fact the accessories absorb so much of our interest that we are liable to forget the "Annunciation." But to say that the picture produces an effect of unreality, would be to test Crivelli's art by an unfair standard. It was enough for him, and it should be enough for us, that he has given us one of his most beautiful and interesting pictures.

Subject pieces by Crivelli are so rare that this will be an appropriate place for considering another example in the National Gallery, the "Vision of the Blessed Gabriele Ferretti" (No. 668). But we have pointed out elsewhere (Chap. II.) the grounds for believing that it was painted between the years 1484 and 1490, so that if there is any truth in that argument it cannot be far removed in date from the "Annunciation" of 1486.

Hanfstaengl photo] [*National Gallery*

VISION OF THE B. GABRIELE FERRETTI

The "Beato" has been reading or praying, at the entrance of a cave near a church, in a quiet country spot from which a road leads to a town in the distance. Suddenly in the sky the Virgin and Child appear in glory. He has laid down his book, put off his sandals, and kneels in prayer and adoration. The subject is simple, but nothing could be more complete and satisfactory than the treatment. There is nothing grotesque or unnatural either in conception or drawing to detract from our enjoyment, and the details are finished with admirable minuteness. The masterly treatment of the drapery, the perfection of the forms, the architecture, the sense of spaciousness in the landscape, all point to the maturity of Crivelli's art. The type of the saint, both in expression and features, finds perhaps its nearest parallel in the earlier St. Francis at Brussels. The landscape, for general effect, is one of his best, though the treatment of the rocks and of the foreground is still conventional. The most striking objects in it are the leafless tree stems, the counterpart, as it were, of the hard and bony human figures of which he was so fond, and therefore an illustration of his love for anatomical forms. His seeking after realism again appears in the two ducks painted with minute precision. In contrast to them we get the festoon of fruit at the top of the picture, illustrating the conventional and decorative aspect of his art. No picture of his suggests more completely both the range and the limitations of Crivelli.

We have already observed that a scene connected with the Passion, formed a regular part of every ancona, but these subjects appear to have had a special attrac-

tion for Crivelli in his middle and later periods. Peculiarly suited for symmetrical arrangement, they also provided a field for the display of anatomical knowledge and for the expression of intense and passionate feeling. At the same time they did not exclude the introduction of magnificent accessories. Nothing could be more splendidly decorative than the Vatican "Pietà," or more intensely pathetic than the Panciatichi and Crawshay versions. The "Pietà" was a specially favoured subject, on account of the convenience with which it could be adapted to the shape of a lunette, forming the top of an altar-piece. The smaller examples (*e.g.* Mr Crawshay's) show by the shape of the panel that they originally formed the centre of the upper tier of an ancona, an arrangement which occurs regularly in the composite altar-pieces which have escaped dissolution. They therefore belong to the period when Crivelli had not yet abandoned this form for the large single panel compositions to which he became addicted in his later years. It is with pictures of the latter type that the large lunette "Pietàs" must have been originally combined; though, apparently, in the only case in which they are at present united (Brera, Gall. Oggiono, No. 1), there was no original connection between them. But in spite of these differences in date, we may well consider all these Passion scenes together, for they all belong to the mature stage of his art.

Let us begin with the older form, of which Mr Crawshay's "Pietà" is typical. Comparatively small in size, its decorative effect is not to compare with that of the large lunettes, for its tone is low and sober, and the accessories are of the simplest kind. But in the

[*Mr R. Crawshay's Collection*

PIETÀ

expression of emotion it is by far the finest of the series. Both in forms and in feeling the Vatican "Pietà" comes nearest to it. Both are remarkable for their display of sincere emotion, but when we compare the figures one by one, the palm must be given to the earlier version. Perhaps there is little to choose between the two Virgins. But the grief of St. John and the Magdalen in Mr. Crawshay's picture is more real than in the other case, because it is less exaggerated. And the look of death on the Saviour's face could not well be surpassed. The smaller picture, too, makes up by far finer drawing for what it loses in decorative splendour. On the whole, it is not too much to say that this was Crivelli's masterpiece in his treatment of this subject.*

We will next consider the lunette "Pietà" in the Vatican, the forms and types of which show a close relationship with those of the last picture. The spectator is at first almost carried away by the depth of the colour and the surpassing richness of the decorative effect, yet the strength of the picture lies in its expression of emotion. If it does not quite attain the level of the Crawshay "Pietà" in this respect, it is nevertheless of very great merit. The body of the Saviour is about to be laid in the tomb, and for the moment it rests on a board placed across the sarcophagus and covered with a piece of drapery which also forms part of the hanging in the background. The moulding of the body is far less satisfactory than that in the earlier

* As I have not been able to see the Panciatichi version, I have not discussed it here. Some remarks on it will be found in the Catalogue of Works, p. 103.

version, but the head is fine. Of the attendant figures the most successful expression is that of the Virgin, with her mingled look of speechless sorrow and affection. The Magdalen and St. John, with open mouths and contorted features expressive of their unrestrained outburst of grief, are neither so unaffected nor so impressive. Sometimes the pathetic and the grotesque are separated only by a narrow interval, and in this case Crivelli in his searching after expression has gone near to confusing them.

The accessories are superb both in design and execution. The cherub heads are meant apparently to float in the air, but they are so thickly set that they produce the effect of a background of burnished metal—a magnificent variety for the ordinary gold field. The whole picture is extraordinarily brilliant in colour and strong in relief. The lighted candle in its elaborate candlestick on the right is perhaps intended to indicate that the scene takes place at night.

By the side of these "Pietàs" we would place the "Crucifixion," in the Brera (No. 189), on account of the similarity of the types. The female figure to the left of the Cross has the same rather unpleasing features as the Magdalen in the two "Pietàs," and we therefore assume it to be the same person, though one would have expected the Virgin in this place. The long hair and the absence of the Virgin's typical head-dress, point to the same conclusion. The Christ is of the same type as in the last two pictures, and not inferior to the best of them in drawing and expression. On the other hand, the emotion of the two figures at the foot of the Cross, while it has all the

Alinari photo] [*Vatican Gallery*

PIETÀ

Alinari photo] [*Brera Gallery, Milan*

THE CRUCIFIXION

disagreeable features of the other examples, has not the same strength or reality. The faces seem fixed in an expression of peevish discontent rather than overpowered by an outburst of grief. The gold ground of the upper part of the picture above the sky is unique, and not easy to explain. The landscape is one of the most delightful we possess. It is just such a prospect as may be seen from any of the hill-towns in the Marches. If this picture fails in the expression of the Magdalen and St. John, its drawing and execution entitle it to a high place among Crivelli's works.

Though it may be separated from these pieces by several years, it will be convenient to place beside them the lunette "Pietà" in the Brera. We may do so with the more freedom because there is no reason to suppose that it had any connection originally with the "Coronation" of 1493, which it now surmounts. A superficial glance will show the difference in types and style between them. But while the "Pietà" naturally takes its place beside the other representations of the same subject with which it has obvious affinities, it must be regarded as the latest of the series, and placed at the very end of Crivelli's career. The type of the Magdalen reminds one of the latest "Madonna" in the Brera (No. 193). The whole scene is more academical and less real than those which we have been considering. All the passion has gone out of the faces; the attitudes are more affected and the expression is more formal. In draughtsmanship and technical execution it is one of Crivelli's most perfect productions, but the general effect suggests a maturity verging on over-ripeness.

With 1487 begins what for convenience of arrangement we may call the third period of Crivelli's career. In his life it is marked by his visit in that year to Fermo, and by the knighthood conferred on him in 1490. The pictures, too, which have survived from those years form a group with some special characteristics. Though we need not believe that he entirely abandoned the production of anconas with many panels, the most important works of this period which have come down to us are groups of saintly personages combined in one composition and united within a single frame. This indicates that Crivelli, influenced perhaps by contemporary works of art which came to his knowledge, was no longer contented with depicting isolated figures in separate frames. So far it marks an advance, though we may doubt whether his art gained much by it. Still, while we feel that perhaps his best work is to be found in the pictures of the older form, we must acknowledge that the results of the new departure are often magnificent, and that his hand has lost nothing of its power.

First, and in some ways the finest of the series, comes the great picture at Berlin (No. 1156A) which was lost to this country at the Dudley sale. Originally at Fermo, and with no mention of the knightly dignity in the signature, we may safely assign it to the period 1487-90. (See p. 21.) The subject is the Infant Christ giving the keys to St. Peter in the midst of an assemblage of local and Franciscan saints. The types of the Virgin in these later pictures do not possess the charm of the earlier ones. The features are more mature and common-

Braun, Clement & Co. photo]

MADONNA AND SAINTS—THE

[*Berlin Gallery*

ANT CHRIST GIVING THE KEYS TO ST. PETER

place, and the one before us is no exception. The Child, on the other hand, shows us Crivelli at his best, exquisitely natural and graceful. St. Peter has not the rugged force of the old model with which we have become familiar (p. 41). Of the other saints, Louis and Bernardino follow the lines of the well-known portraits; while we get a new and very characteristic type in the Bishop who is prominent on the left —probably St. Alexander, one of the patrons of Fermo. The composition is simple and satisfactory, in so far as the space is well filled, yet free from monotony. But the two saints, peeping as it were round the corners of the throne, are hardly a successful or dignified idea. As a whole, the picture depends for its effect on the interest of the heads, and on the decorative effect of the magnificent fabrics in which the chief saints are vested. Nothing could surpass the execution of this superb picture.

To the same period belong the two panels with pairs of saints now at Venice, which are said to have been originally connected with one of Crivelli's latest works—the "Virgin and Child," of the Brera. (See pp. 108, 114.) Whether this be the case or not—and the idea does not receive much support from the style of the panels —we get a point of contact with the Berlin picture in the strongly-modelled features of St. Augustine, which almost reproduce those of St. Alexander (if it be he). St. Jerome, again, recalls exactly the same type in the Odoni altar-piece, of the National Gallery, which we shall consider next. The lion at his feet is a fine example of conventional, we might almost say heraldic, treatment. The St. Peter and St. Paul of the other panel,

damaged as it is, rank among the noblest of his figures. Altogether, though there may be more ambitious and splendid, there are no finer examples of Crivelli's mature stage than these fragments.

Of the five signed pictures which we possess, painted by Crivelli after his knighthood, three are dated, and the date of one more is probably settled. There remains the "Madonna between St. Jerome and St. Sebastian" in the National Gallery (No. 724)—the altar-piece painted for the family chapel of the Odoni in the Franciscan Church at Matelica. In spite of the perfection of its execution and the splendour of the decorative parts, there are few pictures by Crivelli which impress us less by their sentiment. The Virgin once more illustrates the defects of his later conceptions of her; while the Child, who blesses St. Jerome, is even more lacking in life and character.

St. Jerome, indeed, is a noble and dignified figure, but who could believe in the St. Sebastian here presented? As a study of costume the figure is interesting, reproducing every detail with minute fidelity, and bringing before us the model of a well-dressed young man of Crivelli's time. But the features are of an ignoble type, and the attitude is suggestive only of self-conscious vanity. Instead of a devout attendant at the throne, we seem to get a dandy posing for the admiration of the spectator. In short, this is no saint, like the San Gimignano of the Brera triptych, but only a faithful reproduction of the artist's model. For once Crivelli's gift of characterisation has been overpowered by his interest in the accessories.

When we turn to the scenes of the predella we seem

Hanfstaengl photo] [*National Gallery*

THE MADONNA BETWEEN ST. JEROME AND ST. SEBASTIAN

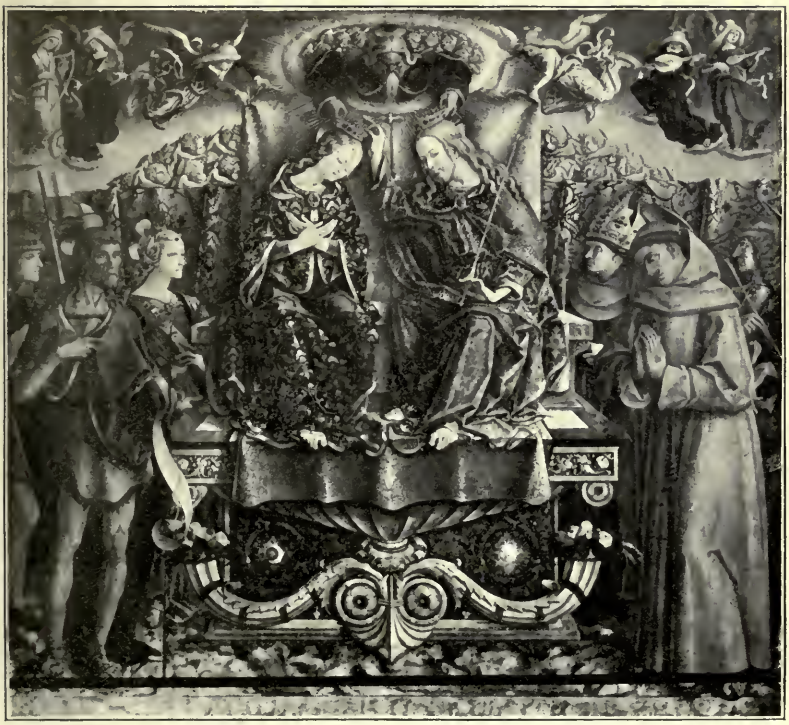
to enter a different world. The St. Catherine on the left is not remarkable, but the remaining four scenes, while they exhibit Crivelli at his best as a draughtsman, are also full of animation, of feeling, and of realism. Crowe and Cavalcaselle long ago drew attention to the merits of these panels, and their praise is not excessive. "Crivelli never concentrated so much power on any small composition." The most interesting is the "St. Jerome in the Desert," with its naturalistic representations of animals to which we have already referred (p. 32). But the powerfully drawn saint and the treatment of the landscape are not less remarkable. The "Nativity" is far finer than the similar scene in the Strasburg Gallery, of which it reproduces the essential features. The types in the "Martyrdom of St. Sebastian" are not very pleasing, but the action is full of vigour. The saint recalls the small figure in the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum at Milan, a work apparently of Crivelli's maturity. Finally, the "St. George" reproduces the design of the early masterpiece on the same subject (see p. 46), and with only less power and animation. We notice the absence here of the use of raised gilt ornament which is so prominent in the earlier version. Generally speaking, this has not quite the freshness and fascination of the work of those first years, but the resources of the artist have increased in the interval.

The National Gallery, where the works of Crivelli's latest period are, if anything, over-represented, contains in the "Madonna with St. Francis and St. Sebastian" (No. 809) the earliest dated picture executed by Crivelli after his knighthood. The year is 1491. There is

little of interest about it, for, though important it is not one of his most successful conceptions, and it has not even the technical perfection of the Odoni picture. The Sebastian, however, is a graceful and attractive figure. Messrs Crowe and Cavalcaselle persuaded themselves that the "combination of energy and smorphia" exhibited by this and other pictures of the same period point to "an intimacy between Crivelli and Alunno" (*i.e.* Niccolo da Foligno). Really, there is little ground for such a suggestion. This picture, it is true, both in treatment and tone, differs to some extent from his characteristic style. But this, if it be the result of external influence at all, which in the case of Crivelli we may safely reduce to a minimum, may be attributed as much to the effect of general contemporary progress in art as to acquaintance with the work of any particular painter. In any case, Niccolo's pictures suggest that he learnt more from Crivelli than Crivelli learnt from him.*

To the next year (1492) belongs the masterpiece in the National Gallery (No. 906) known as "The Virgin in Ecstasy," but which rather presents (as the appended text shows) the idea which is the foundation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, combined with the "Coronation" of the glorified mother. It is intended, in fact, to bring before us not the historical mother of Christ so much as that mediæval conception of the mystical being of Ecclesiasticus and the Book of Wisdom, existing from all time in the mind of God as the instrument of the Incarnation, and return-

* Niccolo's altar-piece of 1499 at La Bastia, near Assisi, bears evident traces of Crivelli's influence. See below p. 81.



Alinari photo] [*Brera Gallery, Milan*

THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN (1493)

ing to share the glory of her divine Son. Crivelli has expressed with rare distinction that combination of humility and awe with a sense of personal dignity which befits this ideal of the Virgin. In herself she is an imposing figure, but she is absorbed in the divine influences which mould her destiny. Never did Crivelli come nearer to the grand style than in this magnificent conception.

For the first time we find here in the Virgin a new type of features which we shall notice in others of these latest works. It may be described as more academical than the naïve, girlish Virgins of the earlier time. The flying angels are also new, and remind us of similar figures in Umbrian art. It is possible that Crivelli may have received them from that source. Considering the nearness of Umbria to the Marches, the likeness of the forms can hardly be explained as a mere coincidence.

We seem to come back to a lower level when we turn to Crivelli's latest dated picture, the "Coronation," of 1493 in the Brera (Gall. Oggiono, No. 1). Everything here is characteristic of his most advanced style—the unity of composition, the wealth of detail, the abandonment of the gold background for a sky, and the elaborate design of the sort of altar-table on which Christ and his mother are enthroned. Considering the results which Crivelli had previously produced, the types are singularly immature. The Christ and the Virgin are not among Crivelli's most successful productions, though their action is appropriate, and the effect of the draperies magnificent. On the right, St. Francis has an unnatural contortion of the head which we noticed in some of the

early pictures; the Augustine (or Bonaventura) is commonplace, and the Sebastian far inferior to the San Gimignano in the other Brera altar-piece. The emaciated John the Baptist on the left is less impressive than the figure of the great altar-piece in the National Gallery, while the youthful soldier saint behind belongs rather to Crivelli's pretty than to his noble types. The St. Catherine alone can be classed among his nobler productions. The general effect of the picture is crowded and lacking in dignity so far as composition is concerned, though in richness it is unsurpassed. The angel choir in the air is a more elaborate instance of the presence of those (perhaps) foreign elements which we noticed in the nearly contemporary "Conception," of the National Gallery. The form of God the Father in the latter picture is also reproduced here with little variation.

The form of signature ("eques laureatus"), as we have seen (p. 22), justifies us in placing the "Virgin and Child," of the Brera (No. 193), later than any of the above works. There is nothing in its style or character opposed to such a conclusion, and indeed it cannot be separated from the other pictures by any considerable interval. It is one of the finest of the whole group, and as a work of art forms a worthy conclusion to Crivelli's career as a painter. The Virgin is a grand and statuesque figure of the type with which we have become familiar in these later pictures. That she does not rise to the level of the "Conception" of 1491 is due to the nature of the subject. The mother with her child upon her knee, if not less queenly, is more human, as she should be. Nothing could be finer than the pose and magnificent drapery of this figure. The

Alinari photo] [*Brera Gallery, Milan*

VIRGIN AND CHILD

child is less successful. The canopy of the throne is formed by arches of fruit and foliage, full and rich in design. As a whole, nothing more satisfactory was ever produced by Crivelli.

Here we conclude our survey of the existing works by Crivelli. And, at the end of it all, what is the impression left on our minds? "A disagreeable, but most talented painter" is the verdict of the principal modern historians of Italian Art.* The depreciatory epithet we can hardly accept. That side—and it is only one side—of Crivelli's genius which expressed itself in his feeling for strength of character and strength of emotion, led him sometimes to delineate types which are severe rather than beautiful, realistic rather than attractive. But genuine art can never be unpleasing, and all Crivelli's productions are in the truest sense artistic. His forms may be hard, but they are never repulsive. Let us rather be content to say that in everything he did we feel the true artist. Would that it were possible to lift the veil which conceals the mystery of his personality and see the man behind. Perhaps we should discover not only a great artist but also a great character.

* Crowe and Cavalcaselle: "History of Painting in North Italy," i. 95.

CHAPTER VI

HIS INFLUENCE

WITH such strongly-marked individuality of style it might have been expected that Crivelli would leave a school of imitators behind him. As a matter of fact we know by name only two painters who worked in dependence on him, and their dated pictures are not later than the latest of Crivelli's. Their names, as they are given on their signed productions, are "Victor Crivellus," whom we may therefore refer to as Vittorio Crivelli, and "Petrus Alamanus." To one or the other of these we can attribute practically all the pictures not by Crivelli's hand though often passing under his name, a number of which are to be found in English collections, and still more in their original home in the Marches. They are readily distinguished not only from Carlo Crivelli—to whom, it need scarcely be added, they are immeasurably inferior—but from one another. When once their characteristics have been grasped, they can never be mistaken. We have included an example of each among our illustrations in order that the student may become familiar with their peculiarities.

Vittorio Crivelli, who was evidently the relation, and may have been the brother of Carlo, like him, adds "Venetus" to his name. The earliest date on any

[*S. Severino*

ALTAR-PIECE
(*By Vittorio Crivelli*)

[*Torre di Palme*

ALTAR-PIECE
(*By Vittorio Crivelli*)

of his pictures is 1481, the latest 1490. His figures, whose smooth round faces are easily recognised, have at their best considerable charm and grace, and even dignity. The ornamental details and drapery also show care and skill. But the drawing, especially in critical points like the hands, is often lamentably weak, and his personages are totally lacking in the character and force which distinguish the productions of Carlo. He is seen at his best in the beautiful ancona at Torre di Palme, which, though unsigned, exhibits precisely similar types to those of the recognised Vittorio at Falerone. His faces are distinguished by a special melancholy, which is apparent in nearly all his works, but was gradually carried to a disagreeable excess. When once the peculiar expression of these lachrymose Virgins and saints has been impressed on the mind there is no easier painter to recognise. That expression is produced by large and melancholy eyes and a singularly unpleasant turning down of the corners of the mouth. A fairly full list of his rather numerous works is given by Crowe and Cavalcaselle (i. 96).*

We are hardly justified in assuming that Petrus Alamanus was a foreigner, though his name, like that of Giovanni d'Alemania, Antonio Vivarini's partner, points to a German extraction. In any case he came from Venice, for in one instance he has signed himself

* The Crivelli of Venice must not be confused with a certain Protasio Crivelli of Milan. Mr Loeser has pointed out to me the existence of a "Madonna" by him in the De Somzée collection at Brussels, signed "Protasius Chribellus Mediolane(n)sis pinxit, A° Dm. 1500." Its general character seems to show a descent from Foppa and Borgognone, though the facial types do not recall any Milanese master. In any case there is no suggestion of Carlo Crivelli.

"Petrus Venetus"*; and we may suppose that he followed Crivelli when he left the North to settle in the Marches. On one picture he was proud to style himself "discipulus Maestri Karoli Crivelli," and the words "civis Assulanus," which he has added to his name on another, show that, like his master, he became a permanent resident in Ascoli.† The only dated pictures are of 1488 and 1489. It may seem a harsh judgment, but it is no exaggeration to say that there is nothing good in him. His compositions are servile and unintelligent reproductions of his master's motives. The drawing is invariably bad, and the decorative accessories show, as compared with Crivelli, an immensely inferior hand. His heads have not even the individuality, unpleasing as it is, of those of Vittorio. A room in the Municipal Gallery at Ascoli contains several of his pictures (two signed) which have been collected from the churches of that town. It would be waste of time to go through the list of his pictures, which there is no excuse, under any circumstances, for confusing with those of his master.

The fact that Crivelli's only known assistants or pupils were of this character, and that neither of them came from the district, proves how poor in painters the Marches were. But if the Marches were barren of all artistic activity, there were districts bordering on them to the north and west with local painters who might be influenced by the striking personality of

* On a picture belonging to Mr Foulke of Paris. See Berenson Notes, p. 12.

† Crowe and Cavalcaselle, i. 98, note 4, where a list of his works is given.

[*Torre di Palme*

VIRGIN AND CHILD
(*By Vittorio Crivelli*
(*From an Altar-piece*)

Crivelli. Those who had once seen his pictures were not likely to forget them; and, without going farther, there were specimens ready to hand in the little group of towns to the north-west (*e.g.* at Camerino and Fabriano), where Lorenzo di S. Severino may have made their acquaintance. In any case there is a triptych of his (dated 1481) at Pausula * where, as we have seen, Crivelli had already been at work. Little is known of Lorenzo, who appears to have been a rather older contemporary of Crivelli; but his pictures show that, while he had nothing to teach the Venetian, he was perceptibly influenced by him. The types, *e.g.* of the Virgin and Child at Pausula, show it, and the apple which lies on the step of the throne points in the same direction. The picture by him in the National Gallery (No. 249) is not without similar suggestions, and here again a cucumber and apple are introduced for decorative purposes quite in Crivelli's manner.

Westwards, across the Apennines, we come to the region of the Umbrian painters, and among these Niccolo da Foligno with his strongly-defined and characterised types and expression of emotion presents obvious analogies with Crivelli. Some have gone so far as to see traces of Niccolo's influence on the later work of Crivelli.† Such suggestions are not easy to substantiate, and, on the whole, we are inclined to think that the effect was in the other direction. In age they were apparently exactly contemporary, but Crivelli has the stronger individuality of the two, and was there-

* S. Pietro. Winter choir.

† C. and C. i. 91, 95, citing *e.g.* No. 807 in the National Gallery, and the Vatican "Pietà."

fore less likely to be influenced by the other. The resemblances between them are partly perhaps to be explained by a similarity in character and conception, different as their artistic origins may have been. But beyond this, some of Niccolo's later pictures present characteristics which can only be explained by direct suggestion from the work of Crivelli. Of such a character is the ancona at Bastia, near Assisi. Not only have the figures quite a Crivellian air, but there are the usual cucumbers and fruit lying on the step of the throne.

To the next generation belongs a curious painter Bernardino di Mariotto, otherwise known as Bernardino of Perugia, who owed perhaps more to Crivelli than either of the painters we have mentioned. Originally, no doubt, he learnt his lesson in the Umbrian school proper, and hence (though the mistake should never have been made) he was long confused with Pinturicchio.* But soon after the beginning of the sixteenth century he settled at S. Severino, and then perhaps it was that he became acquainted with the works of Crivelli in that neighbourhood. To judge by his pictures (of which those in the Gallery at Perugia are the most characteristic examples) what attracted him in the older painter's works was their decorative character (especially the use of gold ornaments) and broad flat treatment. His types are quite peculiar to himself, and not specially agreeable. Those of the "Coronation," which we have included among our illustrations, are quite typical.

* See the German edition of Crowe and Cavalcaselle by Dr Max Jordan (Leipzig, 1871), iv. 316. Berenson, "Central Italian Painters," 152.

Alinari photo] [*Perugia Gallery*

THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN
(*By Bernardino Di Mariotto*)

CATALOGUE OF THE WORKS OF

CARLO CRIVELLI

AND OF CERTAIN WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO THE ARTIST, ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE GALLERIES IN WHICH THEY ARE CONTAINED

NOTE

The measurements of the pictures are given, in most cases, in metres and centimetres, with the equivalents in feet and inches. The height always precedes the width.

Where numbers are given thus [No. 6.], *they are the numbers of the Catalogue of the Gallery. These cannot of course be guaranteed, as alterations are not unfrequently made in the arrangement of the pictures.*

CATALOGUE OF WORKS

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

BUDA-PESTH.

VIRGIN AND CHILD. Wood (round top).

The Virgin (crowned, and wearing a gold brocade mantle), seated on a marble throne, with the right hand supports the Child standing on her knee, while the left touches the stalk of an apple which he is holding. The back of the throne is formed by square sculptured pillars rising from volutes, and supporting a decorated architrave. In front of it hangs a strip of watered silk with a festoon of fruit at the top. Patterned gold background. On the face of the step under the Virgin's feet, "Opus Caroli Crivelli Veneti."

From the Esterhazy collection.

C. and C. i. 93, note 2.

BELGIUM.

BRUSSELS, ROYAL GALLERY.

VIRGIN AND CHILD. Wood, 1·82 × 0·55 = 6 ft. × 1.9½. [No. 16.]

The Virgin (crowned, green and gold mantle over red dress), seated on a marble throne, holds the Child (green dress with gold border) standing on her knee. White watered silk hanging behind. Gold background. On the face of the sculptured step at the bottom of the picture is inscribed "Carolus Crivellus Venetus pinsit."

This and the next picture, together with the "Dead Christ supported by Angels," in the National Gallery [No. 602], and the predella panels at High Legh Hall, formed part of an altar-piece in the church of the Frati Conventuali

Riformati at Monte Fiore, near Fermo. (See p. 48.) They came into the possession of Cav. Vallati at Rome, from whom they were purchased for the Brussels Gallery in 1862.

ST. FRANCIS. Wood, 1·82 × 0·55 = 6 ft. × 1.9½. [No. 17.]

Standing, turned to left. He opens his habit to show the wound in his side. Gold background.

See last picture. The panel has apparently been widened on either side.

BRITISH ISLES.

LONDON, THE NATIONAL GALLERY.

DEAD CHRIST SUPPORTED BY ANGELS. Wood (round top), 0·71 × 0·55 = 2 ft. 4½ × 1.9½. [No. 602.]

The dead Christ (half-length), supported by two boy angels on the edge of the tomb, over the front of which hang a white cloth and a piece of red watered silk. On the cornice to left "Carolus Crivellus Venetus pinsit." Gold background.

Formed part of an altar-piece (to which the two pictures at Brussels also belonged) in the church of the Frati Conventuali Riformati at Monte Fiore, near Fermo. (See p. 48.) Perhaps the "Pietà" mentioned by Ricci as being, when he wrote, in the possession of Professor Minardi at Rome.

Bought at Rome from Cav. Vallati in 1859.

Ricci, i. 209. C. and C. i. 90, 91, note 1.

THE VISION OF THE BLESSED GABRIELE FERRETTI. Wood, 1·38 × 0·86 = 4 ft. 7½ × 2.10½. [No. 668.]

The Beato, in Franciscan habit, kneeling to right, with hands joined in prayer, and looking up at the Virgin and Child appearing in the sky (right upper corner) in a mandorla, framed by winged cherub heads. His clogs are lying on the ground behind him, and an open book in front, near which is "Opus Karoli Crivelli Veneti." In the left-hand bottom corner a small piece of water with two ducks. Behind him (left) a rocky hill, and to the right

a church across a road which leads to a distant town. A festoon of fruit hangs across the sky at the top of the picture.

In fine condition.

Gabriele Ferretti, Superior of the Franciscans in the March of Ancona, died in 1456. Under Innocent VIII. (1484-92) his body was found incorrupt, and was deposited in a sarcophagus in the church of S. Francesco ad Alto at Ancona. We may reasonably conjecture that this picture, exhibiting as it does Crivelli's fully-matured powers, was painted for the church of S. Francesco, for which he had previously painted the "Madonna" still at Ancona, and in commemoration of the discovery of the body.

It came into the possession of Mr Alexander Barker, and was purchased from him in 1861.

C. and C. i. 91 and note 2.

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD BETWEEN ST. JEROME AND ST. SEBASTIAN. Wood, 1·49 × 1·07 = 4 ft. 11 × 3.6. The predella scenes are 0·29 = 11½ in. × 0·36 = 14½ in. (Nativity), 0·32 = 13 in. (St. Jerome and St. Sebastian), 0·21 = 8½ in. (St. Catherine and St. George). [No. 724.]

The Virgin (crowned, wearing blue and gold brocade mantle which comes up over the head, and pink dress) holds the Child (nude save for band round waist; coral charm) seated on her knee, with left hand resting on an apple, while the right blesses St. Jerome (left), dressed as a cardinal, and pointing with one hand to the model of a church resting on two books which he supports with the other. At his feet a small lion holding up right paw pierced by a thorn. To the right stands St. Sebastian (cloth of gold cloak lined with pink, green doublet, and buff hose), holding an arrow in his right hand, while his left rests on the hilt of a sabre which hangs from his belt. On the floor behind him, a bow. The Virgin is seated on a marble throne with cloth of gold hanging. On its upper ledge a swallow is perched. The throne is flanked by high marble screens adorned by brocade hangings, fruit, and vessels of flowers and fruit. Gold background. The face of the step below the Virgin is decorated with festoons of natural fruit. To the sculptured face of

that on which the saints stand are attached, in the centre the escutcheon of the Odoni family (checky of eight argent and gules: on a chief or, a demi eagle displayed sable, crowned and beaked or, langued gules), and (right) a cartellino with "Carolus Crivellus Venetus miles pinxit."

Predella (from left to right). (1) St. Catherine (half-length, crowned), with palm and wheel. (2) St. Jerome kneeling before a crucifix in a rocky landscape, with animals; town to left. (3) The Nativity. The Infant Christ lying on the ground, adored by the Virgin and St. Joseph; the ox and the ass close by. (4) St. Sebastian, bound to a pillar in a room, is being shot at by archers. (5) St. George on horseback killing the dragon.

The condition is excellent. Painted for the Odoni Chapel in S. Francesco, Matelica, where, apparently, it still was in the time of Ricci.

Bought from Count Luigi de Sanctis of Matelica 1862.

Ricci, i. 214. Lanzi, iii. 23. C. and C. i. 94 and note 1.

THE ANNUNCIATION. Wood, 2·07 × 1·46 = 6 ft. 10½ × 4 ft. 10½. [No. 739.]

A street scene. To right a house with elaborate architectural ornaments and an open loggia above with birds and flowers. Through the open door is seen the Virgin kneeling, while over her head floats the Dove which has descended from the sky in a ray of light piercing the wall. On the base of the pilasters flanking the door is inscribed "Opus Karoli Crivelli Veneti 1486." In the street outside, facing a window, kneels the angel, with lily in left hand and blessing with the right. Beside him kneels St. Emidius, in cope and mitre, holding a model of the town of Ascoli. To left steps lead up to a house-door where a small group is talking. The street is closed by a richly-decorated arch through which is seen the city wall. Several small figures passing to and fro. On the face of the step at the bottom of the picture are the words "Libertas ecclesiastica" between three escutcheons: in the centre Pope Innocent VIII.; right, the town of Ascoli; left, Prospero Caffarelli, Bishop of Ascoli.

Painted for the Convent of the Annunziata, at Ascoli, by

Hanfstaengl photo] [*National Gallery*

ST. THOMAS AQUINAS
(*From the Altar-piece*, 1476)

order of the municipality, to commemorate the charter of 1482. (See p. 20.) It remained in the domestic chapel of the Frati till 1811, when it was removed, by order of the Government, to Milan, and deposited in the Brera. After 1815 it passed into private hands, and formed part of the Solly collection, whence it came in 1847 to Mr Labouchere (Lord Taunton), who presented it to the National Gallery in 1864.

Ricci, i. 213. Waagen, ii. 419. C. and C. i. 90 and note 2. E. Luzi, "La Cattedrale Basilica di Ascoli Piceno" (Ascoli 1894), 28.

ANCONA IN THIRTEEN COMPARTMENTS (the Demidoff altar-piece). Wood (round-topped panels throughout, and patterned gold back grounds), 4·82 × 3·15 = 16 ft. × 10.6. [No. 788.]

I. Lower tier (full-lengths). (1) Central panel, 1·55 × 0·63 = 5 ft. 2 × 2.1.

The Virgin (crowned, pink and gold mantle over blue dress), seated on a marble throne, lifts a veil from the Child asleep on her lap. Pale red watered silk hanging behind. Below is inscribed "Opus Karoli Crivelli Veneti 1476."

Side panels, 1·43 × 0·40 = 4 ft. 9 × 1 ft. 4.

Left. (2) St. Peter in cope and triple crown, holding book and keys in right hand, and cross in left. Raised ornaments. (3) St. John Baptist, standing by a stream in a rocky landscape, and pointing to a scroll on which is "Ecce Agnus Dei Ecce qui." Right. (4) St. Catherine (jewelled ornament in hair, blue robe over pink and gold brocade dress), holding palm branch and wheel. (5) St. Dominic. Right hand on breast. Left holds book and lily.

II. Middle tier (half-lengths). From left to right. 0·60 × 0·40 = 2 ft. × 1 ft. 4.

(1) St. Francis, with joined hands, looking upwards. (2) St. Andrew, looking at the open book which he holds with his left hand. His right holds a wooden cross which rests on his shoulder. (3) St. Stephen, in pink dalmatic, holding

book in right hand and palm branch in left. Stones on his head and both shoulders. (4) St. Thomas Aquinas, holding model of church in right hand and book in left. On his breast is a medallion with the sacred monogram.

III. Upper tier (full-lengths). From left to right. 0·87 × 0.26 = 2 ft. 11 × 10½.

(1) St. Jerome, as a cardinal, with book in right hand and model of church in left. The lion at his feet. (2) St. Michael, in armour, treading on the dragon which he is about to strike with an uplifted sword in his right hand. His left holds a pair of scales in the lower of which is a weight, and in the higher two small nude figures (representing souls) of a man and woman. (3) St. Lucy (green robe over gold dress), holding palm branch in right hand and a plate, with her eyes in the left. (4) St. Peter Martyr, in Dominican habit, with joined hands. A knife is fixed in his skull, and his breast is pierced by a sword.

The panels of the lower and middle tiers formed an altar-piece originally in the church of S. Domenico, Ascoli, where it was still to be seen when Orsini wrote his Guide (1790). It was gone by the time of Ricci (1834), who suggests that it was then at Rome in the hands of Sig. Grossi. As a matter of fact, when d'Agincourt published his work in 1823, portions of it at least were already in the collection of Cardinal Zelada, who is supposed to have added the panels of the upper tier. From Rome it passed to the Rinuccini collection at Florence, and in 1852 to the Demidoff collection in the Villa San Donato. Thence it went to Paris, and was bought for the National Gallery from Mr G. H. Phillips in 1868.

Seroux d'Agincourt, "Histoire de l'Art par les Monumens," pl. cxxxviii. (the central panel). Ricci, i. 211. Lanzi, iii. 23. C. and C. i. 87 and note 3.

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD BETWEEN ST. FRANCIS AND ST. SEBASTIAN. Wood, 1·73 × 1·45 = 5 ft. 9 × 4.10. [No. 807.]

The Virgin (crowned, wearing blue mantle lined green, over pink dress), seated on a marble throne with red and

Hanfstaengl photo] [*National Gallery*

ST. DOMINIC
(*From the Altar-piece*, 1476)

gold hangings, holds the Child (nude save for a piece of red stuff round the waist) on her lap. To the left stands St. Francis, presenting the donatrix, apparently a nun (black dress and white veil), who kneels at her feet. A snail is crawling on the pavement near them. To the right St. Sebastian, bound to a pillar, and pierced with arrows. Background of hangings (brown with white pattern). On a cartellino in front, "Opus Caroli Crivelli Veneti Miles 1491." At the bottom of the picture is inscribed, "Almae consolationis matri Mariae priores posterosq(u)e miserata suos Oradea Joamnis aere proprio non modico dicavit": which may be rendered, "Oradea Joamnis (?) in pity for the past and future members (? of her family or convent) dedicated (the picture) to Mary the gracious mother of consolation, at her own expense, which was considerable."

Were it not for the presence of St. Francis, one might conjecture that this was the picture ("Madonna between two saints") mentioned by Ricci as recently (*i.e.* about 1830) sold from the convent of S. Domenico, Fermo.

Bought by Richard, 2nd Marquis of Westminster, at Rome in 1841, *and presented to the National Gallery by his widow in* 1870.

Ricci, i. 214 (?). Waagen, iv. 93. C. and C. i. 95 and note 1.

THE VIRGIN IN ECSTASY (The Conception). Wood, 1·89 × 0·90 = 6 ft. 3 × 3 ft. [No. 906].

The Virgin (blue and gold brocade mantle over pink and blue dress) standing with joined hands in a semi-circular recess in a low marble wall decorated with sculpture. On it are placed (left) a jug with roses and carnations, and (right) a glass vase holding a lily. Pink hanging behind. Above her head two flying angels hold a crown and a scroll with the words, "Ut in mente Dei ab initio concepta fui ita et facta sum" ("As I was conceived in the mind of God from the beginning, so was I also made").

At the top of the picture is seen the half figure of God the Father with outstretched hands; the Dove below. At

the bottom (left) is inscribed "Karoli Chrivelli Veneti Militis pinsit 1492." Gold background.

The surface has suffered in places.

Ricci describes a picture of this subject and date as in the church of S. Francesco at Pergola, but the National Gallery Catalogue states that 906 came from the Malatesta chapel in S. Francesco, at Rimini.

It came into the possession of Mr Alexander Barker, and was bought at his sale in 1874.

Ricci, i. 215. C. and C. i. 92 and note 2. Berenson, "Venetian Painters of the Renaissance." Large paper edition. Photogravure facing p. 12.

ST. CATHERINE AND ST. MARY MAGDALEN. Wood, each panel 0·36 × 0·18 = 1 ft. $2\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 907.]

Full-lengths, with the usual attributes, standing in arched marble niches. The Magdalen (red mantle lined green over blue dress) is the same composition as the larger figure at Berlin. St. Catherine crowned with pink and gold brocade mantle lined blue over pink and gold dress.

From Mr Alexander Barker's sale, 1874.

Waagen, ii. 127. C. and C. i. 95, note 2.

SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM, JONES COLLECTION.

VIRGIN AND CHILD. Wood, 0·46 × 0·33 = $18\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 665.]

The Virgin (half-length, red dress, gold mantle with raised ornaments and green lining, coming up over head, on which is a veil and a circlet of pearls) holds the Child (nude save for red band round middle and white girdle), who grasps an apple with both hands. Behind, pale red watered silk hanging with festoon of fruit above. Landscape background. On the top of the ledge in front are a carnation, violets, and a fly; and on its face "Opus Caroli Crivelli Veneti."

Of the finest quality, and in perfect condition.

ST. JEROME AND ST. CATHERINE.

In one of the side rooms of the Italian Court are two round-topped panels with three-quarter lengths of St. Jerome and St. Catherine, on gold backgrounds, "ascribed to Crivelli."

From the Soulages collection.

They are difficult to examine in their present position, but appear to show the characteristics of Vittorio Crivelli.

C. and C. i. 98, note 3.

There is no picture at S. Kensington corresponding to the Madonna and Saints by Vittorio mentioned in C. and C. i. 98, note 3.

LOUISA, LADY ASHBURTON.

ST. DOMINIC. Wood, 0·94 × 0·27 = 38 × 11 in.

Full-length, turning to left. Lily in right hand, book in left. Gold background.

Collection of Cardinal Fesch, Rome. Davenport-Bromley sale, 1863.

Exhibited, Venetian Exhibition (No. 88).

Berenson, Notes, 12.

ST. GEORGE. Wood, 0·91 × 0·32 = 37 × 13 in.

Full-length, in armour, facing the spectator. Broken lance in left hand. The dragon behind. Gold background.

Collection of Cardinal Fesch, Rome. Davenport-Bromley sale, 1863.

Exhibited, Venetian Exhibition (No. 86).

Berenson, Notes, 12.

R. H. BENSON, ESQ.

VIRGIN AND CHILD. Wood, 0·94 × 0·42 = 38 × 17 in.

The Virgin (pale red dress under gold brocade mantle lined with green coming up over the head, which is covered with a white veil), seated on a red and white marble throne, supports the Child (gold dress with white sash) standing on her lap. He is making an energetic movement to the

right with outstretched arms, the left hand blessing. Behind, a hanging of pale red watered silk (nearly the same colour as the Virgin's dress). Two pears and a fly on the marble step (which is fractured) of the throne. On its face, "Carolus Crivellus Venetus pinsit 1472." Patterned gold background.

The attitude of the Child apparently shows (as Mr Berenson remarks) that this is the central panel of an ancona. Fine condition.

G. H. Marland's sale, 1863. *W. Graham's sale*, 1886.

Exhibited R.A. 1875, 1887; Venetian Exhibition (No. 32).

C. and C. i. 86, note 1. Berenson, Notes, 12.

R. CRAWSHAY, Esq.

PIETÀ. Wood (round top), 0·67 × 0·59 = 27 × 24 in.

The dead Christ supported in the tomb by the Virgin (left), whose arms are round his neck, and St. Mary Magdalen, behind whom the head of St. John appears. Half-lengths. Gold patterned background.

No doubt the centre of the upper tier of an ancona like that at Ascoli.

Bisenzo collection, Rome (*as Mantegna*). *Dudley sale*, 1892.

Exhibited at the Art Treasures, Manchester, 1857; R.A. 1871. Venetian Exhibition (No. 87, and in Illustrated Catalogue).

Waagen, ii. 135. C. and C. i. 91 and note 4. Berenson, Notes, 12.

L. MOND, Esq.

ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL. Wood, 0·87 × 0·44 = 35 × 18 in.

St. Paul (left) with sword and book. St. Peter (right) with keys and book. Full-lengths. Gold background.

From F. R. Leyland's sale, 1892.

Exhibited R.A. 1882.

LORD NORTHBROOK.

VIRGIN AND CHILD. Wood, 0·35 × 0·23 = 14 × 9 in.

The Virgin (white veil with circlet of pearls, blue and gold brocade mantle) holds the Child, who is seated on a cushion placed on the marble balustrade in front, and grasps with both hands a goldfinch. A fly to the left. Behind, a pale red watered silk curtain with festoon of fruit. Some of the same stuff is spread over the balustrade under the Child. On a cartellino, "Opus Karoli Crivelli Veneti." Landscape background.

W. Jones' sale, 1852.

Exhibited R.A. 1894; Venetian Exhibition (No. 42, and Illustrated Catalogue).

Waagen, iv. 95. C. and C. i. 92 and note 3. Berenson, Notes, 11.

THE RESURRECTION. Wood, 0·50 × 0·70 = 1 ft. 8 × 2.4.

Christ stepping out of the tomb, blessing with right hand, and holding banner in the left. Three soldiers asleep. Landscape background.

Early in style, the treatment recalling the similar scene in the predella of the altar-piece at Massa.

Exhibited Venetian Exhibition (No. 50).

Waagen, iv. 95. C. and C. i. 82, note 3. Berenson, Notes, 12.

ST. BERNARDINO OF SIENA AND S. CLARE. Wood, 0·35 × 0·17 = 1 ft. 2 × 7.

St. Bernardino holds a book and medallion with the name of Jesus. St. Clare holds a lily. Full-lengths.

Exhibited Venetian Exhibition (No. 302).

C. and C. i. 92, note 3. Berenson, Notes, 12.

SIR C. A. TURNER.

ST. JAMES. Wood, 0·94 × 0·28 = 3 ft. 1 × 11.

Full-length, turning to right. Pink robe over blue undergarment. A pilgrim's hat hangs at the back of his neck. He holds a staff and a book. Gold background.

Purchased from Mr Fairfax Murray. Formerly in the possession of Mr Coleridge Kinnaird.

HIGH LEGH HALL, KNUTSFORD, CHESHIRE (LT.-COL. H. CORNWALL LEGH).

EIGHT PANELS WITH CHRIST AND APOSTLES. Half-lengths. Gold backgrounds. Wood (round top). Each panel, 0·29 × 0·21 = 11¾ in. × 8½. The panels represent: (1) Christ holding the orb, (2) St. Peter, (3) Apostle with a scroll, (4) with pen and open book, (5) with a large cross, (6) with a book, (7) with a scroll, (8) with a book.

These panels formed part of the predella of the altar-piece in the church of the Frati Conventuali Riformati at Monte Fiore, near Fermo, to which the "Madonna" and "St. Francis," at Brussels, and the "Dead Christ," in the National Gallery, also belonged. (See p. 48.) They were purchased by the late Mr G. Cornwall Legh from Cav. Vallati at Rome about the same date as the others. The remaining four Apostles were not in Vallati's hands, and their fate is not known.

OXFORD, UNIVERSITY GALLERIES.

ST. CATHERINE. Wood (round top). 0·73 × 0·41 = 2 ft. 5 × 1.4½.

Three-quarters length, turned to left. Crowned and wearing gold brocade mantle over a blue dress embroidered with gold. Right hand holds a palm branch, and rests on the wheel; the left holds a book. Gold background.

A characteristic example of Vittorio Crivelli.

Castellani sale, 1884. *Fortnum collection. Thence to Oxford*, 1899.

RICHMOND (SURREY), SIR F. COOK.

VIRGIN AND CHILD. Wood (round top). 1·27 × 0·50 = 4 ft. 2 × 1.8.

The Virgin (dark blue mantle with gold border, lined with green, over red dress) supports the Child (pink dress)

standing on her knee and holding an apple with both hands. The marble throne on which the Virgin is seated has arms formed by conventionalised dolphins, and a round top framed by dolphins and inscribed, "memento mei mater dei regina celi letare" ("Remember me, Mother of God. Rejoice, O Queen of Heaven"). Below this hangs a festoon of fruit. A bright red watered silk curtain appears at the sides. Gold background. On the floor to the left is the small kneeling figure of a donor (apparently an ecclesiastic) and a gold crown (raised ornaments).

Previously in the Dudley Collection.

Berenson, Notes, 11.

STONYHURST COLLEGE, LANCASHIRE.

Virgin and Child. Wood (round top). 1·63 × 0·66 = 5 ft. 4 × 2.2. [No. 45.]

The Virgin (dress and mantle of gold brocade), seated on a throne, supports the Child (nude) standing on her knee. On the halo round her head is inscribed, "Ave Maria gratia plena Do[minus tecum]." On the step of the throne is a fly, and on the pavement below (left) a glass bottle with carnations, and two apples. More fruit to the right. The throne is of rather elaborate character, and its upper part is draped. Some cherub heads appear at the top.

This appears to be a rather early work by Crivelli. The expressionless type of the Virgin recalls the Madonna at Verona, while the Child suggests analogies with the picture at Brussels.

Purchased at Rome about 1820, *and presented by the then Dowager Lady Arundel.*

FRANCE.

PARIS, LOUVRE.

St. Bernardino of Siena. Wood, 1·95 × 0·61 = 6 ft. 5 × 2 ft. [No. 1268. Salle des Sept Mètres.]

Full-length figure of the saint (life-size, and of the well-known portrait type) with staff under right arm, which points to a medallion with name of Jesus (right). Left hand holds

a book. Behind, a low marble dado, and a strip of yellow brocade, at the top of which two groups of fruit are suspended. At the feet of the saint kneel two small figures of the donors in lay costume. On the face of the step on which he stands is a cartellino with "Opus Caroli Crivelli Veneti, 1477." The panel has been split in the right hand bottom corner.

Originally in the church of the Annunziata, Ascoli. Afterwards in the collections of d'Agincourt and Cardinal Fesch. Bought for the Louvre at the Campana sale in 1862.

Musée Napoleon III. No. 113. D'Agincourt, "Histoire de l'Art," pl. clxii. (under name of the Beato Jacopo della Marca). Ricci, i. 213. C. and C. i. 88 and note 1. L. and R. Louvre, 68.

DEAD CHRIST SUPPORTED BY ANGELS. Wood, small. [No. 1269. Salle des Sept Mètres.]

The body, resting on the edge of a marble tomb, is supported in an upright position by two infant angels. Behind hangs a strip of watered silk, which reappears on the front of the tomb. Gold background.

GERMANY.

BERLIN MUSEUM.

ST. MARY MAGDALEN. Wood, 1·52 × 0·49 = 5 ft. × 1.8. [No. 1156.]

Full-length figure richly dressed, supporting the box of ointment shaped like a tankard (raised gilt) in her right hand, while she holds up her mantle with the left. She stands on a step in front of a low marble wall. Behind, a hanging of watered silk with festoon of flowers. Patterned gold background. The face of the step is treated as a frieze, with cherubs' and elephants' heads conventionalised. On a cartellino, "Opus Karoli Crivelli Venet[i]." An R has been substituted for K by mistake.

Solly collection, 1821.

C. and C. i. 93, note 3.

VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS. Wood, 1·91 × 1·96 = 6 ft. 3 × 6. 5. [No. 1156A.]

The Virgin, crowned and enveloped in a brocaded mantle which comes up over the head, seated on a marble throne, holds the Child on her lap, who presents the keys to St. Peter kneeling (left). The triple crown on the floor in front with an apple near it. To the right, St. Louis of Toulouse in a green cope, with large fleurs de lys in the pattern of the brocade, holding pastoral staff, book, and mitre. Behind him (left) a bearded bishop (? St. Augustine, St. Bonaventura according to the Berlin Catalogue) with mitre, cope, and pastoral staff, and (right) St. Bernardino holding a crystal reliquary of the Precious Blood, and pointing with right hand to medallion with the name of Jesus suspended above. To the left of St. Peter a bishop (probably one of the local patrons—*e.g.* St. Alexander) in cope and mitre holding book, palm branch, and pastoral staff. Behind him (right) St. Francis, and (left) a Franciscan (according to the Berlin Catalogue, Giovanni di Capistrano, who preached a crusade against the Turks; died 1456) holding a banner with a red cross on a white ground. Behind the Virgin a hanging of brocade and a festoon of fruit, the ends of which are held by two boy angels seated on the cornice of the throne. Below the one to the left hangs a cucumber. Background formed by a brocaded curtain behind the figures. Above it, sky. At the bottom of the picture, "Opus Caroli Crivelli Veneti."

Painted, according to Ricci, by order of Vincenza Paccaroni, during Crivelli's visit to Fermo in 1487, for the church of the Minori Osservanti there. C. and C.'s statement that it was in the Dominican Church is a mistake due to a misunderstanding of the words of Ricci. It would have been incredible that a picture containing so many Franciscan saints, and not one Dominican, should have been in a Dominican church. In spite of this the Berlin Catalogue assigns it to the Dominican church at Ascoli. In the time of Ricci it had disappeared from Fermo, and is described by Rosini as being at Rome.

W. Conyngham's sale, 1849. *Lord Dudley's sale*, 1892, *whence it went to Berlin.*

Exhibited R.A. 1871 and 1892.

Ricci, i. 214. C. and C. i. 90 and note 3. Rosini, "Storia della Pittura Italiana" (Pisa, 1839), pl. lxiv.

PIETÀ BETWEEN SAINTS. Wood, 0·36 × 1·27 = 1 ft. 2½ × 4.2. [No. 1173.]

The subjects are framed in three low arches, resting on square marble pillars. Centre, the dead Christ supported in the tomb by the Virgin and St. John. Right, a female saint enveloped in a brocaded mantle, and holding a book and palm branch. Left, St. Jerome, with open book and crucifix on the ledge in front of him, beating his breast with a stone. Landscape background. On the face of the pillars supporting the central arch, "Opus Karoli Crivelli Veneti."

Apparently a predella. At the end of the last century it was in possession of Girolamo Zanetti at Venice.

Solly sale, 1821. *Thence to Berlin.*

No one would ever have imagined that this picture was by Crivelli, but for the signature. It cannot be explained by that "closer acquaintance with the lesser stars" of the school of Squarcione which C. and C. saw in it (a suggestion which is repeated in the Berlin Catalogue), for it has none of the characteristics of that school. It is equally remote from the work of Crivelli's imitators. The signature must therefore be regarded as a forgery. Mr Berenson suggests that the real author may have been Matteo Cesa.

Zanetti, "Della Pittura Veneziana" (second edition, Venice, 1792), 26, note. C. and C. i. 84 and note 2. D'Agincourt, "Histoire de l'Art," pl. clxii.

HERR BRACHT.

VIRGIN AND CHILD. Wood, small.

Beneath a plain marble arch the Virgin (half-length) holds the Child seated on a cushion on the balustrade, grasping an apple with both hands while he looks at the spectator. An apple and a cucumber hang from the upper corners of

the picture. Both Mother and Child have circlets of pearls round the head. The Child is almost a replica of the one in the picture at S. Kensington.

Mr Berenson has kindly pointed out the existence of this picture to me.

FRANKFURT-AM-MAIN, STAEDEL GALLERY.

THE ANNUNCIATION. Wood. Two hexagonal panels, the upper and lower sides being curved inwards. Each 0·54 × 0·38 = 1 ft. 10 × 1.3½. [Nos. 33 and 34.]

(1) [No. 34.] The Virgin seen through the open door of the house kneeling (to left) in her chamber before a book open on the desk. Rays of light come towards her through the window. (2) [No. 33.] The Angel, blessing with right hand, and holding lily in left, kneels (to right) in front of a house. The town wall seen through an arcade in the background (right). The composition contains most of the essential features of the "Annunciation," in the National Gallery. Acquired in 1832.

C. and C. i. 92, note 3.

STRASSBURG, PICTURE GALLERY.

THE ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS. About 0·20 × 0·30 = 8 in. × 12. [No. 217.]

In a landscape the Virgin, at the entrance of the stable, kneels with joined hands before the Infant lying on the ground. St. Joseph is seated asleep to the left. The ox and the ass are between them. On the left an angel is leading the shepherds to the group. In the distance (right) they are again represented, with the angels appearing in the sky above them. On the left of the central scene, a portion of a ruin, behind which a road with figures leads to a walled town.

C. Loeser in the "Archivio Storico dell'Arte" (Ser. II. vol. ii. August 1896) impugns the authenticity of this picture. We have not seen the original, but, judging from the reproduction, the analogies which it presents with the corresponding "Nativity," in the predella of the National Gallery picture, No. 724, incline us to disagree with this view.

ITALY.

ANCONA, PINACOTECA PODESTI.

VIRGIN AND CHILD. Wood, $0{\cdot}21 \times 0{\cdot}15 = 8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ in. [No. 1.]

The Virgin, in a brocaded mantle drawn over the head, on which is a circlet of pearls, supports the Child with her right arm, while her left hand touches his left foot. The Child holds a bird by string in his left hand, and the yolk of an egg in the palm of his right. Behind, a hanging of pale red watered silk, with a festoon of fruit at the top. On either side a landscape with figures. On the ledge of the balustrade in front rests an open book (right). On its face, "Opus Caroli Crivelli Veneti."

Originally in the church of S. Francesco (in the sacristy when seen by C. and C.). Minute finish.

C. and C. i. 92 and note 2.

ASCOLI, DUOMO (CHAPEL OF THE SACRAMENT: LEFT WALL).

ANCONA in ten compartments in two tiers, with a predella. Wood. It is fixed rather high, in a bad light, and is not easy to examine. The Ancona measures about $3 \times 2{\cdot}75 = 9$ ft. 10×9.1.

The principal panels (all full-lengths) have, in the centre, the Virgin seated with the Child, who holds an orb. Right, St. Paul and St. Emidius in mitre and cope (raised ornaments). Left, St. Peter (without the triple crown), and St. John Baptist. Above, in centre, the Pietà. Right, St. George and St. Barbara (or Ursula). Left, St. Jerome and St. Catherine. These are half-lengths. In the predella are small half-lengths of ten Apostles (the two outer ones apparently lost), with Christ in the centre blessing and holding orb in left hand. Gold backgrounds throughout. Below the Madonna is "Opus Karoli Crivelli Veneti MCCCC 73."

The picture has never left the cathedral, but was no

doubt originally painted for the high altar, and formerly hung in the apse. It appears to be in fairly good condition, but throughout the flesh tints have been covered with opaque varnish. The fine frame has been much damaged.

Ricci, i. 211. C. and C. i. 87 and note 1. E. Luzi, "La Cattedrale Basilica di Ascoli Piceno" (1894), 50.

BERGAMO, GALLERIA LOCHIS.

VIRGIN AND CHILD. Wood, 0·45 × 0·33 = 1 ft. 6 × 1.1. [No. 129.]

The Virgin, crowned; mantle of gold brocade. The Child holds an apple. Behind, a hanging and festoon of fruit. Landscape background. On the ledge in front, fruits. Signed "Opus Karoli Crivelli Veneti." The Virgin's mantle abraded. Otherwise in good condition.

C. and C. (i. 93 and note 1) suggest that this may be the picture mentioned by Ricci (i. 227) as in the Casa Lenti, Ascoli.

FLORENCE, PALAZZO PANCIATICHI.

PIETÀ. Wood (round top). One third of life-size. About 0·60 = 2 ft. high. [No. 101.]

The dead Christ in the tomb supported by the Virgin, the Magdalen, and an angel. Gold background. Inscribed, "Opus Caroli Crivelli Veneti, 1485."

"Colour reddish and not free from retouching" (C. and C.). This picture is now practically inaccessible.

Mr Berenson writes: "It is intensely passionate in feeling, gorgeous in colour, and all in all one of Carlo's masterpieces." For the form of panel compare Mr Crawshay's "Pietà."

C. and C. i. 90 and note 1. Berenson, Notes, 12.

MACERATA, BIBLIOTECA COMUNALE (PINACOTECA).

VIRGIN AND CHILD. Canvas, 0·60 × 0·42 = 2 ft. × 1.5. [No. 36.]

The Virgin (rather more than half-length; white veil, red

dress, and blue mantle lined green with gold ornaments) holds the Child with both hands against her cheek, while she looks out from the picture. The Child (yellow dress and white girdle) has his arms round her neck. Blue background. The background is repainted, and there is a good deal of abrasion and patching of colour in the drapery: *e.g.* the green lining of the Virgin's mantle has lost its folds. The heads, etc., though injured in places, are free from any damaging re-paint.

Attached to the back of the picture is an irregular square of canvas containing the original signature, "Karolus Crivellus Venetus pinsit Fermis, 1470." The letters are black on a slate-coloured ground. The colour is the same as that of the step on which the signature is inscribed in the picture at Massa. The picture (which is an oval) and its signature are the only surviving fragments of an altar-piece in the church of the Minori Osservanti, where it was seen by Lanzi before the fire of 1799. Like all Crivelli's pictures this was presumably on wood, and has been transferred to canvas. But as the canvas of the signature appears to be the same as that which appears through the abrasions in the painted surface of the picture, and of a finer texture than the backing (which is square), it may originally have been painted on canvas applied to the panel, like the predella of the altar-piece at Massa.

Lanzi, iii. 23. Ricci, i. 212. Berenson, Notes, 11.

MASSA FERMANA, MUNICIPIO.

ANCONA in five compartments, crowned by three smaller ones with gabled tops, and a predella. Wood. The measurements are as follows:—

Centre panel: 1·05 × 0·44 = 3 ft. 7 × 1.5½.
Side panels: 1·05 × 0·34 = 3 ft. 7 × 1.1½.
Centre gable: 0·51 × 0·28 = 1 ft. 8½ × 11.
Side gables: 0·37 × 0·19 = 1 ft. 2½ × 7½.
Compartments of the predella: 0·28 × 0·44 = 11 in. × 1 ft. 5½.

In the centre the Virgin, in pink dress and blue mantle (now almost black) with embossed gold border and olive

green lining, on a marble throne, supports the Child (yellow dress and white girdle) seated on her lap (right), who blesses with the right hand and holds a gold orb in the left. Immediately behind the Virgin hangs a narrow curtain of red watered silk. On the top ledge of the throne, fruit. A small votive taper is attached to the step below, on the face of which is inscribed, "Karolus Crivellus pinsit hoc opus M-CCCC-LXIII." Right, St. Silvester (turning to right), in triple crown and cope, holding a book and pastoral staff. The gilt ornaments are raised. St. Francis receiving the stigmata. Rocky landscape. Left, St. Lawrence, in red dalmatic with raised gilt ornaments, holding a book and the gridiron. St. John Baptist in a rocky landscape holding cross-staff, and a scroll inscribed "Ecce Agnus Dei qui tollit." Gold backgrounds throughout. In the centre gabled panel, the dead Christ upright in the tomb; the Cross behind. Left panel, the Virgin kneeling at a desk with open book, in a walled court on to which opens (left) a door, showing within a bed with red coverlet. To the right, the Dove, emitting rays and a tongue of fire (raised gilt). Right panel, the Angel Gabriel (embossed gilt wings, lily in left hand, right hand raised) kneeling in walled court facing an open door. Predella (beginning from the left):—(1.) Agony in the Garden. Undulating wooded landscape. (2.) Crucifixion. Mary and John on either side of the Cross, flanked by two mounted soldiers. Wooded hills in background. (3.) Flagellation. In a room with central pillar supporting the ceiling, to which Christ is tied. Two executioners with scourges. (4.) Resurrection. Christ, holding the cross-flag, and blessing with right hand, steps out of the tomb. Rocks behind, and distant landscape at the sides. Sleeping soldiers in front.

There are no traces of re-painting, but the surface has been destroyed in many places. There is a large fissure at the base of the panel with St. Lawrence, and a good deal of abrasion at the base of that with St. Silvester. The bottom of that with St. Francis has been quite eaten away by worms, and the left corner shows the large hole through which the bell rope referred to by C. and C. formerly

passed. The paint has quite disappeared from the left-hand bottom corner in the Resurrection scene of the predella. The rest, and the gables, are in fair preservation, though showing some gaps. In the abrasions on the predella the canvas stretched on the panel beneath the paint can be seen. It is of the same character as that in the Macerata picture. (See above.) There are no traces of it in the principal panels. The architectural framework was apparently simple, but something must have been lost from the upper portion.

Painted for the Parish Church (S. Silvestro) by order of the patron, Count Azzolino of Fermo (Ricci, i. 207). In the sacristy when seen by Ricci and C. and C., who add: "It used to be in the bell-room, where, however, it received damage from the ropes." For the last twenty years it has hung in the Sindaco's office in the Municipio. The gables are detached. Mr Alexander Barker made an unsuccessful attempt to purchase it about 1860.

Ricci, i. 207. C. and C. i. 86 and note 1. Cav. Vincenzio Brancadoro, "Notizie Storiche di Massa" (Montegiorgio 1895), 22, and note 39. Berenson, Notes, 11.

MILAN, THE BRERA.

THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN. Wood. Life size. [No. 1, Sala F (Galleria Oggioni).]

Christ (crowned, and in red brocade robe), seated on a throne raised on an altar-like base with elaborately carved front resting on cherub heads, holding sceptre in left hand, with the right places a crown on the head of the Virgin, who is seated beside him with hands crossed on breast over a robe of green brocade. Two flying angels support a hanging behind the figures, above which God the Father (surrounded by cherub heads, which also appear at the sides of the hanging) bending forward touches with either hand the crowns of Christ and the Virgin. Between them is the Dove. Right, St. Francis, St. Bonaventura (mitre and red robe) looking at a small crucifix, and St. Sebastian holding an arrow. Left, St. John Baptist with

cross-staff, and scroll ("Ecce Agnus Dei"), St. Catherine with the wheel, and St. Geminianus (?) holding banner. Behind, a brocaded curtain, above which in the sky appear four angels playing on instruments. On the face of the marble step in front, on a cartellino, "Carolus Crivellus Venetus miles pinxit M.CCCC.LXXXXIII." Below this to the left is inscribed, "T̃pe. Fr. Iacobi de Fabr̃o et Fr. Angeli Deserra comitu̇̃ guardianus completa fuit." The last two letters of "guardianus" have been re-painted, but read no doubt originally guardiañum, so that the whole will read: "Tempore Fratris Iacobi de Fabriano et Fratris Angeli Deserra comitum guardianorum completa fuit."

The tone of the picture has become dulled (as compared with the other Crivellis in the Brera), but is generally in fair condition, in spite of a few worm-holes and splitting of the paint at the joinings of the panels.

Originally in the church of S. Francesco at Fabriano. In time of Ricci, it had been bought by Cav. Pietro Oggioni of Milan, who left it by will to the Brera in 1855.

Ricci, i. 228, note 27. C. and C. i. 95 and note 3.

PIETÀ. Wood. A Lunette. [Same number as last.]

The dead Christ in the tomb supported by St. John (red), the Virgin (blue mantle), and the Magdalen (red). The body rests on a transverse board covered with drapery. On the ledge of the tomb, beyond St. John, is an open book on a desk, with ink pot, pen case, and a lighted candle beside it. Beyond the Magdalen, the box of ointment, and a small votive taper. Behind, brocaded drapery, and two cherub heads. Background of sky.

This lunette is now attached to the "Coronation," but as its breadth does not exactly correspond to that of the latter, the connection is probably not original. The character of the figures also is different, for while the heads in the "Coronation," in spite of its late date, belong to Crivelli's earlier style, those in the Pietà are of his latest type and less characteristic of him, reminding one of ordinary Cinquecento art. The prevailing tone is red and

gold, and very brilliant. C. and C. remark: "This was the very best, as it was the last work of a disagreeable but most talented painter."

C. and C. i. 95.

THE CRUCIFIXION. Wood, 2·18 × 0·74 = 7 ft. 2 × 2.5. [Sala II. No. 189.]

The dead Christ on the Cross. Below (right), St. John dressed in yellowish green under a red robe, with left hand on the Cross. Left, the Virgin (or Magdalen), in pink dress and blue mantle, with clasped hands. Both are looking upwards, with faces expressing grief. Behind, an undulating landscape, with a city (Jerusalem) in the middle distance. The sky ceases abruptly at the height of the middle of the figure on the Cross, and the upper part has a plain gold background.

Originally in the Dominican church at Camerino. Taken to Milan, apparently about 1810. In fairly good condition. A few worm-holes, and some bits of paint chipped off the surface of the St. John. Bright tone of colour, the landscape being especially light and clear. The judgment of C. and C., "a poor work," is not justified.

Ricci, i. 210. C. and C. i. 92, note 1.

VIRGIN AND CHILD. Wood, 2·19 × 0·75 = 7 ft. 2 × 2.6. [Sala II. No. 193.]

The Virgin (crowned, blue and gold brocade mantle over red dress) with the Child (pink dress holding a pear) on her lap, seated on a marble throne, the canopy of which is formed by arches entirely covered with fruit and foliage, within which is a piece of brocade. Gold background. On the lowest step of the throne is a vase with lilies and roses. To its face is attached a small votive taper and a tablet with "Karolus Crivellus Venetus eques laureatus pinxit."

Originally in the church of S. Domenico, Camerino, whence it came to Milan in 1810.

Good condition.

Ricci, i. 206. C. and C. i. 94 and note 2.

VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH FOUR SAINTS. Wood. A triptych, 2·18 × 2·20 = 7 ft. 2 × 7.3. [Sala VI. No. 283.]

Centre panel.—The Virgin (crowned, in mantle of blue and gold lined with green) holds on her lap the Child (blue dress), who grasps a bird with both hands. Elaborate throne of coloured marbles; on the middle ledge a glass with flowers, and a basin of fruit. Behind, a red hanging, with festoon of fruit at top. Right panel.—St. Geminianus (red and blue) holding a red and white banner in his right hand and a model of his town in the left. Behind him, St. Peter Martyr, in the Dominican habit, with joined hands; a sword in his breast and knife in his head. Left panel.—St. Peter in cope and triple crown, with cross in left hand, book and keys in right. Behind him, St. Dominic with joined hands, book, and lily. The faces of the marble steps are treated like friezes with elaborate bas-reliefs, the lower one (fruit, cherub heads, and skulls) coloured naturalistically. Raised gilt ornaments and patterned gold backgrounds throughout. On a cartellino at the bottom, "Opus Caroli Crivelli Veneti M. 4. 8II" (=1482). The 8 made like an X has led Ricci wrong.

Painted for the church of S. Domenico at Camerino. Taken to the Brera in 1810. The surface shows a few cracks. Otherwise in good condition, the tone being extraordinarily bright and clear.

Ricci, i. 206. C. and C. i. 89 and note 2.

SS. JAMES, BERNARDINO, AND PELLEGRINO. [Sala VI. No. 294.]

SS. ANTONY THE ABBAT, JEROME, AND ANDREW. Wood. [No. 295.] Each panel measures 0·24 × 0·59 = 9½ × 1.11½.

Half-lengths on gold ground, not divided by any framework. Apparently a predella. Perhaps that mentioned by Ricci as in possession of Sig. Salvatori at Porto di Fermo. Inferior work, if by Crivelli.

Ricci, i. 227. C. and C. i. 92 and note 1.

MUSEO CIVICO, DELL' ACQUA COLLECTION.

St. John; St. Bartholomew. Half-lengths. Gold backgrounds.

Presented to the Museum by Dr Levis, who had acquired them from the collection of the Counts Castelbarco near Milan.

MUSEO POLDI-PEZZOLI.

Christ and St. Francis. Wood, $0{\cdot}20 \times 0{\cdot}13 = 8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 20.]

Christ, supporting the cross (on which hang two scourges and the crown of thorns) with his right arm, while the hand exhibits the pierced side, stands in front of a ruinous wall partly concealed by a curtain (yellow and green), which also extends over the ground in front. Before him kneels St. Francis, holding up a chalice to catch the blood which flows from the pierced side. To the left is the column of the flagellation, with the rope still attached to it. Against it rest the spear and reed with the sponge. Beyond, through an arched opening, appears a landscape with a walled town.

St. Sebastian. Wood, $0{\cdot}42 \times 0{\cdot}10 = 1$ ft. $4\frac{3}{4} \times 4$. [No. 78.]

St. Sebastian bound to a tree. Landscape background. Minute finish.

PAUSULA, S. AGOSTINO (SACRISTY).

Virgin and Child. Wood, $1{\cdot}27 \times 0{\cdot}84 = 4$ ft. $2 \times 2.9\frac{1}{2}$.

Within a mandorla of cherub heads (alternately red and green, picked out with gold), the Virgin (crowned, in pink dress and red robe of gold brocade) looks down on the Child (light green dress with white girdle), whom she holds to her bared breast. The rest of the panel has been painted over much later with angels on a background of clouds.

The condition of so much of the original surface as exists is generally good, but there are some abrasions in the lower part.

ROME, LATERAN, PINACOTECA.

VIRGIN AND CHILD. Wood (round top). About 1·35 × 0·32 = 4 ft. 6 × 1.1.

The Virgin (crowned, red dress and blue and gold mantle, lined green, which comes up over the head), seated on a marble throne, supports the Child (green dress and white girdle, string of pearls with coral charm round neck), who stands on her lap and holds an apple by its stalk in his left hand. Behind, hangs a strip of watered silk with intertwined branches of apples and plums forming a festoon. Figured gold background. On the marble pace below the Virgin kneels (left) the small figure of a Franciscan friar. On the face, which is fractured, "Opus Caroli Crivelli Veneti 1482."

C. and C. i. 89 and note 1. Morelli, "Italian Painters," i. 275, note 3.

VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH FOUR SAINTS. Wood. Five panels. About 0·90 × 1·50 = 3 ft. × 5.

Centre. The Virgin (gold dress, dark blue mantle with gold border and green lining), seated, holds the Child (yellow dress), who has in one hand a string to which a bird is attached, in the other apparently the yolk of an egg (*cf.* Ancona). A small figure of the donor kneels at her feet. Across the curtain at the back are suspended some yellow leaves. In the side panels SS. Gregory, John Baptist, John the Evangelist, and Jerome. On the frame is inscribed, "1481 die ultima Iulii."

Originally in the church of S. Agostino at Grottamare. Taken to Rome by order of Gregory XVI., 1831-1846.

An old inhabitant still remembers his father, a carpenter, packing up the picture to be sent to Rome.

Morelli describes this as a work of Crivelli, and "powerful in drawing." C. and C.'s remark is, "of a sharp glowing colour, false in drawing, and probably by assistants of Crivelli." We may safely say that it is not by his hand.

C. and C. i. 88 and note 2. Morelli, "Italian Painters," i. 275, note 3.

VATICAN, PINACOTECA.

PIETÀ. Wood. A lunette, 1·06 × 2·03 = 3 ft. 6 × 6.8.

The dead Christ in the tomb, supported by St. John (right), the Virgin, and the Magdalen (left). The body rests on a transverse board covered with a piece of brocade, which forms a hanging at the back. On the ledge of the tomb, beyond St. John, is a lighted candle, and by the Magdalen the box of ointment. The background is formed by winged cherub heads, heightened with gold. "Opus Caroli Crivelli Veneti" on the cornice of the tomb, under St. John.

C. and C. i. 91 and note 5.

DON MARCELLO MASSARENTI.

VIRGIN AND CHILD BETWEEN ST. FRANCIS AND ST. JEROME. Half-lengths.

I insert this on the authority of Mr Berenson, who has seen the picture.

TORRE DI PALME, S. AGOSTINO (otherwise S. GIOVANNI BATTISTA).

ANCONA, in twelve compartments, with predella. Round topped panels and gold backgrounds throughout. Wood, 1·65 × 1·36 = 5 ft. 6 × 4.6. The full-lengths of Saints in the side panels are 0·85 × 0·29 = 2 ft. 10 × 11; and the half-lengths above, 0·50 × 0·27 = 1 ft. 8 × 10.

Centre.—The Virgin (crowned, in blue dress and gold brocade mantle), on a throne, holds the Child seated on her lap. He has a yellow dress with white girdle, and a circlet of pearls round the head, and of red beads round the neck, and blesses with the right hand, while the left holds a flower. Behind, a curtain of gold brocade with a festoon of carnations. The arms of the throne terminate in elaborate candelabra. Apples on the top ledge.

Side panels.—Right, St. Paul (red robe) holding sword and book. St. Augustine with mitre, in red and gold cope,

holding pastoral staff and model of a church. Left, St. Peter (tiara and gold cope over red dalmatic) holding book and keys in right hand and cross in left. The gilt ornaments are raised, as also *e.g.* in the St. Augustine. St. John Baptist (patron of the parish) in red robe, holding a cross-staff to which is attached a scroll with "Ecce Agnus Dei."

Upper tier.—The three central panels project like a bow window above the Virgin. In the centre, Christ, nude save for a loin cloth, standing. The stream of blood from the pierced side flows into a chalice. The panels on either side represent two angels (full-lengths, in embroidered tunicles) in adoration.

Half-lengths in the side panels.—Right, St. Nicholas of Tolentino (a saint of the order Eremiti di S. Agostino, to which the Church belonged), in black habit, with star in his right hand and book in left. St. Catherine (red mantle) crowned, and holding palm branch in right hand and wheel in left. Left, St. Jerome represented as a cardinal, holding model of church in right hand and open book in left; St. Sebastian, nude to the waist, with hands bound behind his back, and pierced with arrows.

Predella. The risen Christ, and the twelve Apostles. All half-lengths, in 13 small compartments.

Considerable portions of the surface have been destroyed on the Virgin's mantle (right side). The rest of the picture appears to be in fair condition. The tone, especially of the central panel, is very clear and brilliant.

The Ancona has always remained in S. Agostino, and, as the saints selected show, must have been painted either at the order of, or as a present to the Eremitani who then occupied it. It was originally in the apse behind the high altar. In 1891 it was moved to its present position against the north wall near the entrance, and enclosed in a glass case. The Parocco Gasparri narrates with considerable spirit in the pamphlet cited below, the attempt made in 1888 by the authorities at Fermo to remove the picture, and the successful resistance of the people of Torre. He plausibly connects the picture with Crivelli's visit to Count Lodovico Vinci at Fermo in 1487

(see above p. 20), and shows from documents that, at least in the early part of the sixteenth century, the Vincis possessed a garden at Torre.

This picture has always passed under the name of Carlo Crivelli; but we know that Vittorio was working for the Vinci family at Fermo about the same time (C. and C. i. 96, note 1), and as the types are precisely those which we find in his better works, we may safely ascribe it to him. The Child, *e.g.*, is the counterpart of the boy angels in the picture at S. Francesco, Fallerone (C. and C. i. 97, note 3. Photograph by Cordella of Fermo). In drawing and sentiment it is far superior to his ordinary works, and (especially the central panel) may be regarded as his masterpiece.

Ricci, i. 209. C. and C. 1. 95, note 3 (both as a work of Carlo). Domenico Gasparri, "Illustrazione del Polittico di C. Crivelli in Torre di Palme" (Fermo, 1897).

VENICE, ACCADEMIA.

1. SS. Jerome and Augustine.

2. SS. Peter and Paul. Wood, (round tops). Figures life-size, 2·80 × 0·73 = 8 ft. 3 × 2.5. [Sala V. No. 103.]

(1) St. Jerome as a cardinal, holding two books on which rests the model of a church. St. Augustine (Gregory, L. and R.) in cope and mitre, holding book and pastoral staff. Below him, looking up at St. Jerome, is the lion with its left paw pierced by a thorn. Above, a six-winged cherub head. Gold background. (2) The left side of the picture, with half of St. Peter, has disappeared, leaving the panel exposed. He is reading in an open book, while St. Paul (red robe over green), with his left hand resting on a sword, looks over his shoulder. Two books on the floor at his feet. Above, a six-winged cherub. Gold background.

Originally in S. Domenico, Camerino. (1) *Apparently went to Milan with the other pictures from S. Domenico early in the century.* (2) *Till recently in the possession of the Marchese Servanzi Colli at S. Severino.*

These panels must have flanked the centre of a large

altar-piece, but they do not exactly correspond, and no doubt the other two Fathers of the Church were represented in one, and perhaps two more Apostles or Saints in another panel.

L. and R. say: "Panneu latéral d' un triptyque dont le sujet principal, la Vierge et l'Enfant Jésus, est au musée Brera à Milan" (*i.e.* No. 193). The style, however, is not the same. L. and R. Venise, 44.

FOUR SAINTS. Wood. Separate panels. 0·70 × 1·60 = 2 ft. 4 × 5.4. [No. 105.]

Beginning from the left: St. Roch as a pilgrim (pink and green) pointing to his wound. St. Sebastian bound to a tree and pierced with arrows. St. Emidius, in mitre and red cope over blue dalmatic, holding book and pastoral staff. St. Bernardino of Siena with eyes fixed on the medallion with name of Jesus hanging above him. Under his left arm a book and staff. Behind each figure a brocaded hanging.

Acquired in 1890 *by the Accademia from the Pericoli family of Rome. Previously in the Aosta collection at Genoa.*

A typical example of Vittorio Crivelli in his better style.

Some illiterate forger has added "Opus Carolus Crivelli" below the figure of S. Bernardino.

L. and R. Venise, 44. "Archivio Storico," 1890, 159.

VERONA, MUSEO CIVICO (PINACOTECA).

VIRGIN AND CHILD. Wood. [No. 351.]

The Virgin (half-length) in gold brocaded mantle which comes up over the head, standing with hands joined in front of the Child. He stands on a cushion placed on the ledge of the marble parapet in front, pointing with the left hand to three small figures of children kneeling on the ledge (right), and holding the cross, crown of thorns, and scourge. To the left, another group of similar figures, consisting of the Infant Christ (a replica of the larger figure, but nude) standing by the pillar of scourging, and three others, representing soldiers, with the nails, spear

and reed, and ladder. Behind the Virgin, a hanging of pale red watered silk (which also appears on the parapet under the Infant), and a festoon of fruit on which two bullfinches are perched. Architectural background, consisting of a half-ruined wall with arched opening on either side, and decorated above with coloured marble shafts, between which, immediately over the Virgin, a third arch, in which are two boy angels playing on musical instruments, and a vase of flowers. Sky background. Through the opening on the right is a landscape with a town and the Crucifixion in the distance. On the front of the parapet at the bottom of the picture, "Opus Karoli Crivelli Veneti."

Originally in the Convent of S. Lorenzo, Venice. Thence through the Craglietto (in time of Ricci) and Barbini-Braganzi collections to the gallery of Verona.

It is obvious that the Virgin's hair is not in Crivelli's manner; and as a matter of fact it has been re-painted, the original treatment being still discernible beneath. Otherwise in good condition.

Ricci, i. 225, note 4. C. and C. i. 82 and note 3. Morelli, "Italian Painters," i. 276.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BOSTON, MRS JOHN L. GARDNER.

ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON. Wood, 0·90 × 0·46 = 3 ft. × 18½ in.

In a rocky landscape, St. George, in armour, mounted on a rearing horse, having pierced the Dragon with his lance, is about to strike it with a sword uplifted above his head with both hands. In the distance to left a walled town, in front of which is a small figure of the princess in prayer. To the right, landscape with road and trees. Gold background.

From F. R. Leyland's sale, 1892, to the collection of Mr Stuart M. Samuel. Thence to Boston.

Exhibited R. A. 1882, Venetian Exhibition (No. 40, and in Illustrated Catalogue).

Berenson, Notes, 11.

DRAWING

Only one drawing by Crivelli is known. It is a three-quarter length of St. Peter ($0{\cdot}20 \times 0{\cdot}15 = 8 \times 9$ in.) in pen and ink. The figure has been carelessly cut out along the outline with scissors, thus coarsening its aspect. The features are blackened.

This drawing is in the possession of Mr C. Loeser of Florence.

UNIDENTIFIED PICTURES

Among the pictures mentioned by Ricci and others which at present are unidentified, the following appear to be the most important. The places are those given by the authorities who mention them.

Ascoli. Canons' residence attached to the Duomo. "Crucifixion," with the Magdalen. Signed and dated 1487. (R. i. 213; C. and C. i. 95, note 3.)

Ascoli. Capella del Palazzo del Governo. "Annunciation." Signed "Opus Karoli Crivelli Veneti." (R. i. 227; C. and C. i. 95, note 3.)

Venice. S. Sebastiano, attached to Convent of S. Lorenzo. "St. Fabian," in episcopal vestments. (Ridolfi, i. 49; C. and C. i. 82, note 3.) One would expect a St. Sebastian as a pendant to this.

Venice. S. Sebastiano, attached to Convent of S. Lorenzo. "Marriage of St. Catherine." (Ridolfi, i. 49; C. and C. i. 82, note 3.)

Force. Principal church. "Madonna," signed. Belonged to a triptych which was in S. Francesco. (R. i. 209; C. and C. i. 95, note 3.)

Atri. S. Francesco. "Virgin in Ecstasy." The Trinity above. Apparently a replica of National Gallery, 906. Signed "miles." R. i. 214; C. and C. i. 95, note 3, who wrongly compare it with the "Coronation," in the Brera.

Monte Fiore, near Fermo. Franciscan church. (1) "St. Peter Martyr." Full-length, corresponding to the "St. Francis" at Brussels. (2) Five "Apostles," from the predella. (See High Legh Hall.)

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Out of rather more than fifty existing works by Crivelli, some of which, now separated, were originally combined, only thirteen are dated. A certain number besides contain historical and other indications which fix the date to within a few years with tolerable certainty. Considerations of style must determine the places of the remainder. In some (perhaps most) cases the decision is fairly obvious. We have not attempted to assign a place to every known picture by Crivelli. All the more important ones, however, will be found in the following list. When a picture is no longer in its original place, the latter is, when known, added in brackets.

Virgin and Child. Verona. (Venice.)

1468. Altar-piece. Massa Fermana.

Virgin and Child. Sir F. Cook, Richmond.

1470. Virgin and Child. Macerata. (Painted at Fermo.)

Virgin and Child. Lord Northbrook. London.

Virgin and Child. Ancona.

Resurrection. Lord Northbrook.

St. George. Mrs J. L. Gardner. Boston, U.S.A.

1472. Virgin and Child. Mr Benson, London.

Altar-piece. (Montefiore, Fermo.)

1. Virgin and Child. Brussels, No. 16.
2. St. Francis. Do. No. 17.
3. Dead Christ with Angels. National Gallery, No. 602.
4. Predella with Christ and seven Apostles. High Legh Hall.

Virgin and Child. Pausula.

1473. Altar-piece. Duomo, Ascoli.

1476. Altar-piece (Demidoff). National Gallery, No. 788. (Ascoli.)

Virgin and Child. Buda-Pesth.

St. Mary Magdalen. Berlin.

1477. St. Bernardino. Louvre. (Ascoli.)

1482. Virgin and Child. Lateran.

1482. Virgin and Child with four Saints. Brera. (Camerino.)

Virgin and Child. S. Kensington, Jones collection.

(1484-92.) Vision of the B. Gabriele Ferretti. National Gallery, No. 668. (? Ancona.)

1485. Pietà. Pal. Panciatichi, Florence.

Pietà. Mr R. Crawshay, London.

Later than the last two, but with similar types, comes—

Pietà. Vatican.

Crucifixion. Brera, No. 189. (Camerino.)

1486. Annunciation. National Gallery, No. 739. (Ascoli.)

(1487-90.) Virgin and Child with St. Peter and six Saints. Berlin. (Fermo.)

SS. Jerome and Augustine, SS. Peter and Paul. Venice, Accademia.

(1490.) Virgin and Child with SS. Jerome and Sebastian. National Gallery, No. 724. (Matelica).

1491. Virgin and Child with SS. Francis and Sebastian. National Gallery, No. 809.

1492. The Virgin in Ecstasy. National Gallery, No. 906. (Pergola or Rimini.)

1493. Coronation of the Virgin. Brera. (Fabriano.)

Virgin and Child. Brera. (Camerino.)

Pietà. Brera.

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